Cwk-H02351-47-0295707
295707
47

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

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VOLUME XCI

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
LONDON: ARTHUR F. BIRD
PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS
1970

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CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

(VOL. XCI, 1-2,4) 1970 405 .002 WHOLE No. 361

HORACE, *CARMINA*, I, 2.

Odes I, 2 begins with a culmination. The first words, *Iam satis*, "an ejaculation, . . . almost a groan," [1] command our attention immediately and electrically, and we are thrust still uncomprehending into the midst of a dramatic emotional situation. We are given only an incomplete and almost breathless [2] glimpse of the storm that has provoked the cry: snow, hail, lightning; but the storm itself is not described for us or even immediate.[3] What is vividly present and immediate is its effect of terror. The opening outcry is one of fright. This was Jupiter's purpose in sending the heavenly warnings, and the dramatic occasion of the poem is the moment of realization in which the god's warnings are finally successful because finally heeded.

The vivid actuality behind the cry of terror is elaborated by gasping repetition and asyndeton in *terruit urbem, terruit gentis* (lines 4-5), and then most powerfully in the two stanzas of horrified nightmare of what would have happened had the warnings not been effective. Stanzas 2 and 3 have often been troublesome to students of the *Odes*. Porphyrion thought them frivo-

[1] E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), p. 243.

[2] Gasping is probably the intended suggestion of the fivefold repetition of the *is*-sound in the first two verses observed in Kiessling-Heinze-Burck (*ad loc.*).

[3] We should perhaps not even think of these phenomena as simultaneous. "Now he has sent enough" more likely indicates a series of warnings, growing in intensity, which have at last overcome perverse refusal to heed them than a single spectacular warning.

lous;[4] Fabri suggests humor on the poet's part.[5] Wilkinson suspects a runaway imagination.[6] But if the lines seem to betray the poet carried away by his fancy, it is because the picture is so visually vivid and detailed; an indistinct evocation of the idea of a cataclysmic flood would have presented no problem. In the first stanza the actual meteorological phenomena are not pictured, only named or suggested. *Nivis* is not qualified at all; *grandinis* only given intensity by *dirae*; and lightning has to be inferred from the red-glowing right hand that cast it. In stanzas 2 and 3, however, we have nothing as general as "seals" but a clear picture of Proteus shepherding his flock; not "animals" or even "deer" but terrified and trembling does. Fish perch "in the crown of the elm tree," a picture drawn even sharper by contrast with the doves that were the former occupants.

Commager more aptly explains the passage as intentionally grotesque,[7] and I should take it as a panorama of a cataclysm narrowly avoided but seen from range close enough for the survivor to have come away with a wide-eyed and ineradicable vision of its horror and magnitude. The speaker seems unable to avert his gaze from the spectacle of the horror so narrowly escaped.[8] The first three stanzas establish—and by their very

[4] *Ad loc. Leviter in re tam atroci et piscium et palumborum meminit, nisi quod hi excessus lyricis concessi sunt.*

[5] J. Fabri, "*Iam Satis Nivis* (Horace *Odes*, 1,2)," *Les Études Classiques*, XXXII (1964), p. 14.

[6] *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 63. D. West, *Reading Horace* (Edinburgh, 1967), feels that "a more likely explanation of these details is that Horace is sounding a Pindaric note" (p. 90).

[7] "Horace, *Carmina*, I,2," *A.J.P.*, LXXX (1959), pp. 37-55. "In evoking a somewhat mannered vision of Pyrrha's age Horace is exercised less by his fancy than by the effort to find a sufficiently grotesque illustration of the chaos his generation had witnessed" (p. 39). It is not, however, an illustration of what had happened in Horace's generation (that will come in stanzas 4-6), but of what has been averted.

Commager's important article is cited throughout this paper, rather than the somewhat altered presentation of it in his *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven, 1962), pp. 175-94.

[8] The poet's apparent difficulty of extricating himself from the description may be another factor in Wilkinson's judgment (*loc. cit.*) that "Horace has got onto a well known *locus* and let his fancy lead him astray."

grotesqueness vividly develop—the dramatic tension of the ode's beginning: terror at the disaster to which they had come so close.

And what was the horror scarcely avoided? Not just a terrible flood, but a return of the time of Pyrrha, the end of an era, begun by upheaval of the whole natural order and the destruction of mankind, and followed by a new age.[9] In the description of what would have happened, Pyrrha's distress (*nova monstra questae*, line 6) is not simply at "the violation of nature's processes," [10] doubtless disturbing enough, but at a vista of utter destruction and human depopulation. She sees seals on the mountaintops, fish in the trees, no human being but herself. The only land animals are frantic deer, floundering in the water. Deer, like doves (*columbis*, line 10), are proverbially innocent creatures, and the surviving deer remind us of the reason for man's extinction, his wickedness.

The first three stanzas establish, then, the position of the poem's beginning: a profound shudder at the lurid picture of what has at that moment (*iam satis*) been avoided. The great flood has not occurred, but its material imminence has been made convincingly tangible and immediate. We may pause to note that Jupiter has not been punishing anyone;[11] quite the contrary, he seems to have been diligent in his efforts to frighten Rome and the world into a realization, for *iam satis* implies a series of warnings, only now effectual. Perhaps it is the grotesquely pictorial visualization of what could have happened that has led some to read too sympathetically and grasp too readily at a statement of an actual flood that did happen, of punishment as the divine motive, or of a god alienated and hostile. Stanzas 1-3 convey none of these.

[9] Cf. Kiessling-Heinze-Burck, *ad loc.*, and the documentation there.

[10] Commager, *loc. cit.*

[11] Cf. Commager, *loc. cit.*, p. 38: "We hear of Jupiter's punishment of the Romans, . . . The first stanza suggests that a divine wrath pursues the Romans . . . The plea for a savior, *tandem venias* (30), confirms our sense of a too long continued punishment, as does the repetition of *nimium* (17, 37)." For the opposite persuasion, cf. G. Nussbaum, "A Postscript on Horace, *Carm.*, I, 2," *A.J.P.*, LXXXII (1961), p. 415: ". . . the 'father' preferred to terrify mankind, and particularly the Romans—to warn them, to bring them to their senses." Cf., also, Fabri, *loc. cit.*, p. 14.

With stanza 4 there is a shift of grammatical subject. *Pater* was the dominant subject of the first three stanzas; it becomes now "we," and the change is emphasized by the initial position of the pivotal word, *vidimus*. This gives us our first occasion to consider the poem's address. Whose voice are we to identify as the speaking voice of the ode? The preceding dedicatory poem was spoken in the first person singular,[12] unequivocally the literary voice of Horace himself. But in the second ode there is no "I" at any point nor reference to anything "personal." Nor may we understand this "we" as an individual addressing someone else ("you and I"), for when the poem becomes a prayer, it is "we" that pray (*precamur*, line 30). The poem directs us, then, to understand it as spoken in a collective voice.

This collective voice is first identified by geographical associations (*Tiberim*, line 13; *monumenta regis templaque Vestae*, lines 15-16). At the end of the poem (lines 45-9) the identification is made more explicit:

> diuque
> laetus intersis *populo Quirini*
> neve te *nostris* vitiis iniquum
> ocior aura
> tollat,

The poem is the expression of the corporate voice of the Romans.[13]

As lines 1-12 dramatized the shock at having come so close to a cataclysm, stanzas 4-5 reveal what did happen, the actual experience that finally convinced the Romans of the menace of annihilation and that wrung from them the cry of "Enough!"

[12] *Odes*, I, 1: *meum* (line 2), *me* (lines 29, 30, 35). There is no warrant for assumption that the "Horatian" *persona* is the speaking voice of the first person throughout the *Odes*.

[13] Fraenkel interprets the use of the plural of the first person to signify "that the poet claims to speak on behalf of the whole people . . ." (*op. cit.*, p. 250), and compares *Epod.*, 16: ". . . in both these poems Horace speaks as the mouthpiece of the community" (p. 251). But, as Fraenkel has aptly emphasized, the poet in *Epod.*, 16 is speaking *to* the community (p. 52). Where in our ode does the single voice of an individual—be it the Horatian *persona* or any other—show itself? It is not "Horace" speaking in behalf of the community, but the community itself expressing its corporate experience.

In stanzas 2 and 3 the destruction of humanity was conceived in terms of the only previous example available, the "historical" occasion of the flood survived by Deucalion and Pyrrha alone. How literal had the god's suggestion to become in his warnings! He had finally to produce an instance, staged in the very form of the prototype, for them to see with their own eyes (*vidimus*).

Yet it is not necessary to assume either that the flood is purely symbolic or that it refers to any one of the several attested floodings of this period.[14] There is an actual flood; it takes place in stanza 4. Its site is told with clear topographical landmarks; it was witnessed by the Romans as a body; and only this flood need concern us.

As stanzas 2 and 3 evoked the landscape of a flood that was feared but did not occur, stanza 4 focusses on the view of a flood that did occur (*vidimus*, line 13). The broad general perspective of the earlier stanzas, inundation of the whole world, is now narrowed to the city of Rome, and the feared destruction concentrated still more closely on the Regia and the temple of Vesta. Of the public buildings that might have been mentioned, these, ancient and hallowed, represent "Rome in her very Romanness."[15] Destruction of the house of Numa and seat of the *pontifex maximus* and extinction of the eternal fire on the community hearth are tantamount to the extermination of the ancient community. The flood seemed bent on uprooting Rome's very foundations, but the destruction did not, of course, occur. The hallowed old buildings survived, and the community survived, because Jupiter had forbidden the destruction (*Iove non probante*, line 19). His purpose was to demonstrate impending

[14] The poem can hardly be referring directly to any of the attested floodings of the Forum, for there would be the risk of becoming ridiculous if the terrible picture of stanzas 1-3 were put in comparison with any actual flood. The comparison would make the poem seem hysterically alarmist. To make serious and convincing its brilliant evocation of real alarm, it must not associate this with the particular alarm of any past situation now survived whose outcome would be immediately recalled. The several instances of floods of this period only show that the poet has dramatized an intellectually valid poetic event, one emotionally informed with associations from actual and recent experience. On the other hand, since floods of the Forum were more or less regular occurrences, the flood cannot be purely symbolic.

[15] Nussbaum, *loc. cit.*, p. 408.

disaster, but the river seized the occasion of the greater god's warning and moved to accomplish what Jupiter intended only to suggest.

And why the determination of Tiber to eradicate the city with which he had always been so intimately identified as to be addressed as *pater*?[16] He is avenging a wrong done his wife, *Iliae dum se . . . iactat ultorem, . . . uxorius amnis* (lines 17-20), and the offense is an ancient one indeed, going back more than seven centuries to her execution, when the river in flood received her as his wife.[17] Some modification needs to be made on Prof. Fraenkel's conclusion as to the significance of the passage, ". . . the present disasters are viewed as the outcome of some grave offenses committed during the earliest period in the history of Rome or what was to become Rome."[18] "Present disasters" seems too strong, since Jupiter did not allow Tiber to carry out his vengeful intentions, and the present phenomena cannot be regarded as the outcome of wrongs perpetrated long ago since Tiber did not cause this flood. Jupiter caused the flood as an admonition; Tiber took the opportunity to try to bring about the annihilation of which Jupiter was warning. Had the disaster occurred it would have been the outcome of Tiber's enduring vindictiveness.

That Tiber's vindictiveness is emotional, self-indulgent, and ungoverned is suggested in *uxorius*, its extravagance in *se . . . iactat*. *Nimium* is syntactically ambiguous, equally qualifying *querenti* ("too bitter over ancient injustices"), *se . . . iactat* ("incontinent in his exaggerated zeal"), and, as the complement of *se iactat, ultorem* ("too ready to settle an old score"). Combining the distinct implications here, we have the explanation of Tiber's vindictive attempt to destroy the city to which he was "father" and Ilia the mother of its founder: too sensitive a memory of an old wrong and too ready an eagerness to retaliate, even if his vengeance be excessive and ultimately self-

[16] E. g., as early as Ennius (Macrobius, *Sat.*, VI, 1, 12).

[17] Cf. Commager, *loc. cit.*, p. 42 and notes 15 and 17. Commager has shown convincingly that the floods of the poem have nothing to do with the portents of 44 B. C. following the death of Julius Caesar; *loc. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.; cf. also, M. E. Hirst, "The Portents in Horace, *Odes* 1.2.1-20," *C. Q.*, XXXII (1938), pp. 7-9.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

defeating. It was this that drove Father Tiber to rush headlong to the destruction of his own. Further, the ultimate consequence would have been something more vast than the destruction of ancient buildings of the Forum, for all the symbolism of that: the use of *querenti* in line 17 brings forward from its occurrence earlier (*questae,* line 6) the meaning it carried there. In both instances we are concerned with a woman and a flood, but in the earlier instance this was the flood that destroyed mankind and Pyrrha's dismay was at the desolation of the world. The repetition of so striking a word imbues Tiber's compulsion to revenge an old wrong with the vision of the extermination of mankind.

Suddenly, for the first time in the poem in the sixth stanza there is no flood, feared (stanzas 1-3) or experienced (stanzas 4-5). The turbulence is past; there is no vivid dramatization of action. The stanza is concerned with what will be heard about, rather than what will be encountered. Jupiter's warning has had to assume dreadful proportions, and there was real danger when the instrument of his warning tried to elude control, but now his purpose has been achieved. To those who have witnessed it, the meaning of what has happened becomes clear. Grimly objective in their realization, they assume the perspective of posterity and mentally formulate the account it will receive.[19] To warn of the impending annihilation of mankind the god has sent a literal reminder of its earlier destruction. Now with a suddenness expressed by the abrupt shift from the topic of floods

[19] Commager, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, sees the sixth stanza as cast in the future but regarding the present. That is, the actions of the stanza (*civis acuisse ferrum, pugnas*) are contemporary with the moment of the poem: "Not yet have the Romans expiated their *scelus* (*cui dabit,* 29), and if Horace could relegate civil war to the past there would be no point in casting the sixth stanza into the future: *audiet* (21)." The logic of his reasoning is not clear to me. I understand from a statement "X will hear that Y did that" an implication that the act has been committed rather than is happening. Further, in stanzas 1-5 there has been nothing of the Romans' *scelus*; only in stanza 6 is there finally the sign that they see that they have committed one. They must understand the meaning of what they *have been doing*; consideration of expiation will logically, and does in fact, follow the insight.

Commager's subsequent assertion, "The past of the future is of course the present" is no more acceptable. It could also be the past.

to historical experience, the Romans see the significance of the portent with the realization that the destruction of the race is already under way and its effect already evident: *rara iuventus*. The phrase is postponed to the end of the stanza to heighten for the reader the sobering effect of this realization on them. And the ultimate sign that Jupiter's warnings have at last been heeded is that there will be a future generation.

The destruction of the race is not from without, though there is peril there also. *Graves* in line 22 reintroduces *grave* from line 5, which carries into its second application its own earlier history. There it was the *grave saeculum Pyrrhae*; repetition of the word here suggests that the Parthians threaten imminent engulfment for the Romans.[20] But it is civil war that is dragging the race to extinction. Citizens have whetted their swords but not for foreign foes (line 22), and as a consequence have reduced the numbers of the coming generation. *Vitio* (line 23) both accounts for the meager numbers of the next generation (modifying *rara*, line 24) and assigns the blame for the bloodshed ("battles because of the sin of their parents"). And likewise with *parentum* (line 23), qualifying both *pugnas* and *vitio*: theirs was the conflict and the sin that is now causing the reduction and soon the extermination of the race, as the previous annihilation of mankind by the flood was the result of the wickedness of man. The few who sprung from pebbles tossed by Deucalion and Pyrrha were a *vitio parentum rara iuventus*; that this is now clearly perceived is proof that Jupiter's premonitory signs have finally accomplished their purpose—*iam satis*.

With the sixth stanza the narrowing perspective of the poem is tightened even further: from the purely mythological, surrealistically envisioned flood of Pyrrha (stanzas 1-3), to a flood of the Tiber unleashed by an angry river god, to stark actuality

[20] Whether or not the Parthians actually did constitute a grave threat to the Roman world is, of course, quite another question. Nor can the poem be dated by the reference to them, since Roman anxiety about the Parthians was a continuing state of mind from before the time of Crassus to the reign of Trajan. The man in the street, shocked by the disaster of Carrhae and by the humiliating failure of Antony in his expedition of 36 B. C., must have thought of the Parthians as a fearsome menace indeed.

severely expressed. This three-stage "centripetal" pattern in the poem's mode of conception is present in the tendency of its emotional affection: from terror (stanzas 1-3), to an unsettled bewilderment (stanzas 4-5), to a calm acceptance of bitter reality (stanza 6), an altogether convincing representation of the process of recovering self-command after a profound shock. The inwardly converging pattern is manifest in the relative mass of the statements which comprise lines 1-24: three stanzas, two stanzas, a single stanza. And in the narrowing comprehension of their very statements we have a pattern that converges inward:

I. Stanzas 1-3. Wide-eyed terror at what could have happened.
II. Stanzas 4-5. Nervous mental survey of what did happen.
III. Stanza 6. A clear view of its meaning.

The several aspects of this convergent pattern, its mode of conception and expression, its emotional perspective, the proportionate spatial disposition of its components, the scope embraced by its overt statements, together constitute and illustrate its particular quality:

I. Broad potential
II. Experienced phenomena
III. Residual and essential import.

The present interpretation of the poem proposes that this pattern of narrowing and sharpening focus, exactly repeated in another painful process of realization in stanzas 8-13, is the structural principle of its composition.

It has been pointed out by Tracy [21] and Collinge [22] that stanza 7, lines 25-28, is a unit that stands apart from the larger balanced design of the poem. Set off from the progressively narrowing focus of stanzas 1-6 (and isolated from the second such progression, as we shall see, in stanzas 8-13), the stanza hangs suspended in a stillness between the poem's two move-

[21] H. L. Tracy, "Thought-Sequence in the Ode," *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood* (Toronto, 1952), p. 209.

[22] N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (London, 1961), p. 103.

ments. Its very disengagement from the forward course of the poem makes this motionless instant of despairing helplessness dramatically arresting. The poem in its movement imitates what it is describing, the numb paralysis of hopeless despair. The people, alert at last to the peril, are unable to save themselves; it is too late.

The tense of the participles *ruentis* (line 25) and *audientem* (line 27) is important. What god *can* the populace invoke to aid a state already speedily collapsing?[23] The answer is clearly "None." Perhaps Vesta, then, for she need not be summoned, a distinctly Roman goddess, locally resident. And Vesta is obviously present, for she declines to hear the formal prayers that are being addressed her (*minus audientem carmina*, lines 27-8). To the second anguished question of the stanza the answer is also, "None"; there is no prayer she will heed, for she refuses to listen. The futility of entreaties is made sadly manifest in *fatigent* (line 26): to their ancient protectress their earnest pleas are merely wearying. The hope of some sort of survival reiterated by the anaphorical repetition of *audiet* in lines 21 and 23, at a moment when it seemed that realization even so late might bring salvation, is now recalled and bitterly reversed as the same word (*minus audientem*, line 27) appears to convey Vesta's deaf disinterest. But yet keener is the repetition from line 16 of the name of the goddess herself.[24] Rome's salvation as a community seemed still possible when the fury of Tiber and his attempt to destroy the temple of Vesta were frustrated. In the seventh stanza the cold indifference of their tutelary goddess to the Romans' survival shows the same alienation from one's own that impelled Tiber to their destruction, and betrays an estrangement as grim as Tiber's headlong animosity. Unable to save themselves, to summon a savior, even

[23] Horace here combines the connotations of "rush" and "ruin" borne by *ruo*, as he does in other poems (e.g., *C.*, I, 3, 26; 16, 12; 19, 9; *Epod.*, 7, 1). The word is also frequently associated with water, a suggestion especially significant in this poem (cf. *Sat.*, I, 7, 26; II, 3, 57; Verg., *Georg.*, I, 313, 324; *Aen.*, V, 695; VIII, 525).

[24] The name appears in the same metrical position in both instances. For those to whom identical metrical position is of special importance, the poem offers further instances: *pater* (2, 50); *genus* (9, 35); *vitio* (23) and *vitiis* (47); *populus* (25) and *populo* (46), and *terris* (1, 42).

to interest the guardian of their own hearth in their deliverance, the populace is paralyzed in its awareness of doom already upon it.

The second movement of the poem (stanzas 8-13) begins, as did the first, with the intervention of Jupiter. Having sent from heaven omens that pointed to impending extinction, he will now in his mercy send the means of expiating them. Ordinarily, of course, those who have incurred guilt or are suffering its consequences must by expiation prevent portended ills from coming to pass. But, as we have seen in stanza 7, the Romans are incapable of any action to stave off their destruction, and as we shall learn in stanzas 8-10, they are as wrong-headed in their notions of how to go about expiation as they were slow to acknowledge the critical need for it.

But Jupiter will send his agent (*dabit partis*, line 29) to expiate their sin for them, because if they are to be saved he must provide for their deliverance. Not that salvation has been earned; theirs is the wickedness (*vitio*, line 23; *scelus*, line 29) which in an earlier age was atoned for only by the general extinction of mankind. But now instead of punishing wickedness by extermination of the wicked, Jupiter will effect an extirpation of the sin itself. The alternative to expiation of sin is extinction because of it, and as we recall from stanza 6, extinction is already well on its way to being accomplished by the Romans' murder of one another, a chain of vendetta that will end in annihilation. But expiation eliminates the need for reciprocal retaliation and blood feud. We recall the flood of stanza 5 that threatened to destroy the city because of Tiber's over-eagerness to avenge an old wrong and Ilia's enduring bitterness.

At this possibility of salvation the Romans spring from paralysis to a flurry of action, a frantic canvass of potential rescuers. To be sure, in the very suggestion of deliverance it was quite clear that Jupiter would assign the role of expiator. Still, the feverish intensity with which the Romans appeal to the gods to whom they instinctively turn is understandable enough. They are desperate, for very little time is left (*tandem*, line 30).

Commentators have illustrated at length the appropriateness to this office of the gods invoked in stanzas 8-10.[25] All three are

[25] Commager, *loc. cit.*, pp. 48 ff., extracts from the mass a valuable summary and provides the relevant bibliography.

intimately connected with the Julian family and the Roman state. All three were champions of the Trojan cause and consequently ancient allies of the Romans. And this is emphasized here by phrases strongly redolent of Homer: in line 31 Apollo is invited to come *nube candentis umeros amictus,* a phrase recalling his help in battle[26] as he led the Trojan host in the great sweep across the plain (*Il.*, XV, 307-8):

> πρόσθεν δὲ κί' αὐτοῦ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
> εἰμένος ὤμοιν νεφέλην, . . .

To the idea of aid in battle is added, in the epithet *augur* (line 32), the assistance of prophecy given by Apollo in times of crisis.

Another Homeric echo appears in the address to Venus, *ridens* (line 33) being the equivalent of φιλομμειδής. She is invoked as mistress of Eryx, a title that reminds us of her relationship to Aeneas by pointing to her great cult center in Sicily, which Aeneas was credited with founding.[27] But perhaps as important, the epithet Erycina recalls the introduction to Rome of the Venus of Eryx in the critical days immediately after Cannae in consequence of consultation of the Sibylline Books.[28] Her entourage, *Iocus* and *Cupido,* may seem frivolous company for an eleventh hour rescue, at least an unnecessary, if pleasant, visual detail. But the two Erotes who fly around her furnish iconographic identification of the goddess as the victorious Venus Felix,[29] Sulla's transformation of Venus Erycina, whom Pompey

[26] The phrase is reminiscent also of Athena's intervention at the side of Diomedes, when in *Il.*, V, 185-6 Pandarus explains that he must be receiving aid from a god:

> οὐχ ὅ γ' ἄνευθε θεοῦ τάδε μαίνεται ἀλλά τις ἄγχι
> ἕστηκ' ἀθανάτων, νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὤμους

[27] *Aen.*, V, 759. On the association of Venus Erycina as *mater Aeneadum* at the time when her cult was first imported to Rome, cf. R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* CLXXVIII [1954]), pp. 233-66.

[28] Livy, XXII, 9.

[29] Cf. the triumphant Venus of Pompeii (a Sullan foundation, *Colonia Veneria Cornelia*), accompanied by a pair of flying Erotes: V. Spinazzola, *Pompeii alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell' Abbondanza* (Roma, 1953), fig. 222, 228, tav. XI; fig. 243, tav. XV b. The identification of the Pompeian Venus with Sulla's Venus Felix and the

took over and metamorphosed into his own Venus Victrix and who was ultimately won by Caesar and made over once more into Venus Genetrix. The inscription of a golden crown and axe presented by Sulla to the goddess celebrated her championing of his cause in the field,[30] and his most recent battle at the time of the dedication was that of the Colline Gate, fought right around the temple of Venus Erycina.[31] Her aid was invoked by Caesar and a temple to her vowed on the night before the Battle of Pharsalus. Just before daybreak Pompey dreamed that he himself was dedicating the temple to her.[32] *Venus Victrix* was the watchword of Caesar's army at the battle,[33] and *Venus* at the Battle of Munda.[34]

The martial attitudes in which these divinities are summoned are implicit in the Homeric associations of line 31 and in the iconography of Venus Erycina-Felix-Victrix, with all its suggestion of civil war. Aside from its being his natural aspect, the bellicosity of Mars is explicitly emphasized in a full stanza (lines 37-40). The spectacle of war is evoked with its din (*clamor,* line 38), its gleaming armor (*galeae,* line 38), and then a sudden vignette of cruelty and blood.[35]

Lines 35-6 introduce the summons to Mars in a tone of reproof: he has not been fulfilling his obligations to his people (*auctor,* line 36). For a people threatened with genocide by civil war to say that Mars has been inattentive (*neglectum genus,* line 35) may at first seem strange, but still there is no reason to suppose that this third in the series of frantic entreaties is any less sincere or urgent than the others. Mars' involvement in the present crisis is emphasized by his satiety with warfare; lines 38-40 make it clear that war is his play (*ludo*),

subsequent adherence of Pompey and Caesar to the goddess are presented in full by Schilling, *op. cit.,* pp. 267-324.

[30] Appian, *B. C.,* I, 11, 97.

[31] Appian, *B. C.,* I, 10, 93. That the temple of Venus just outside the Colline Gate was one of Venus Erycina is well attested (e. g., Livy, XXIII, 9; XL, 34).

[32] Appian, *B. C.,* II, 10, 68 and 102.

[33] Appian, *B. C.,* II, 11, 76.

[34] Appian, *B. C.,* II, 15, 104.

[35] Commager, *loc. cit.,* pp. 48 ff., interprets the summons to the three divinities as "emphasizing the peaceful aspect of each god" (p. 49).

that he enjoys it (*quem iuvat*, line 38). War, civil war, *is* the crisis (stanza 6), and the role of Mars in the coming catastrophe, the linkage of stanzas 10 and 1, is made explicit by another repeated word, *satiate* in line 37 binding Mars to the *iam satis* of the poem's beginning.

By the same technique the nature of the catastrophe, the extinction of the race, is recalled by associating the flood of stanzas 2 and 3 with Mars' descendants the Romans, as *neglectum genus* (line 35) is combined with *piscium . . . genus* (line 9), the result of Mars' "attention" pegged to the earlier scene of devastation and depopulation. *Auctor* (line 36) sounds again the theme of harm done one's own (Ilia and Tiber, *vitio parentum rara iuventus*, Vesta); any concern of Mars for his own descendants will have to be prompt, for in the recurrence of *genus* the landscape of their annihilation by himself is flashed before us, enlarging the urgency of the Romans' plea for a savior.

The surfeit that has sated even Mars' appetite for war is coupled to the excess of the fifth stanza by the reappearance of *nimis* (line 37) after *nimium* (line 17). Mars' self-indulgence in a sport that has gone on too long reintroduces the earlier exaggerated sensitivity to old wrongs and overindulgence in the irresponsible display of an intemperate zeal for evening a score. The poem offers no hint that Mars' motivation is the same as Ilia's or Tiber's, although he was, of course, intimately involved in that matter, but the effect is manifestly the same. It is "alas too long a game" because it is again almost too late to save the Rome that Jupiter had prevented Tiber from destroying. The excesses of both Ilia and Mars have almost caused the extermination of their own city and progeny, the posterity of their son.

The reason for the unrestraint of Ilia and Tiber was an understandable, if protracted, resentment of a wrong done Ilia. How are we to interpret Mars' "negligence" of his people? Absorbed in his favorite pastime, has he merely taken no notice (*respicis*, line 36) of its consequences? Or has he been so engaged by the pleasurable spectacle (*iuvat*, line 38) of African soldiers glaring savagely at their bleeding opponents that he has been distracted from the plight of his own? So much critical effort has been expended in debate on the reading of line 39 and whether *Mauri* is correct, that there seems to have been no

strength left, even among the defendants of *Mauri,* for an attempt to explain its significance.[36] It is the very problem of understanding what African soldiery can have to do with this passage, or the poem in general, that led Faber and his followers to the conjecture *Marsi.* And "African foot-soldier" does seem almost a contradiction since they were noted for their characteristic use of cavalry, not infantry.[37]

I suggest that the key to understanding the passage lies exactly in the apparent inconsistency of "African foot-soldier." One North African king had recently distinguished himself by his effective use of legionaries combined with cavalry, Juba of Numidia.[38] The novel way in which he deployed substantial numbers of foot-soldiers made formidable difficulties for Caesar,[39] and he was forced to give his troops special training to counter Juba's alarmingly successful innovation.[40] It was Juba's army that defeated and destroyed Curio's legions and the next day butchered the survivors who had surrendered to Varus, the Pompeian commander.[41] Mars takes pleasure, then, in the savagery of an African soldier toward a bleeding *Roman,* a startling assertion which adds an ironic turn to *neglectum genus et nepotes.* But Juba was after all fighting on the side of a Roman as an important ally of Pompey.

In civil war, for Mars to have helped one Roman in battle he must have harmed another Roman. Again we have the theme of destruction of one's own, and again pegged to the earlier statement in stanza 6 that the annihilation threatened is self-destruction in civil war by the device of iteration of a word previously employed. *Acer* (line 39) summons to present context the *acuisse* of line 21 and ties the present statement of the Romans'

[36] All the manuscripts read *Mauri,* and it was the reading of Porph. and Ps.-Acr. Faber first proposed *Marsi* and was vigorously supported by Bentley.

[37] Sallust, *Jug.,* 59, reported that Jugurtha had introduced some foot-soldiers among his cavalry.

Mauri should not be understood technically, as "Mauritanian," but according to Horace's casual practice with geographical designations, "African." Cf. *Carm.,* II, 6, 3.

[38] F. E. Adcock, *C. A. H.,* IX, Chap. XVI, pp. 680 ff.

[39] Caesar, *Bell. Afr.,* 14, 15, 69.

[40] *Ibid.,* 71.

[41] Appian, *B. C.,* II, 7, 45-6.

destruction of each other to the earlier one that citizens have sharpened against one another the swords that should have been used against foreign foes. Worse yet, in stanza 10 the Romans are making common cause with foreigners for killing fellow citizens,[42] an irony that the reappearance of the word, the "sharp" glare of the foreigner and the sword "sharpened" against compatriots, compels and drives home.

In stanzas 8-10 the suggestion that Jupiter will deputize some expiator prompts the Romans to a feverish canvass of possible saviors. All three are ancient friends of the Romans; all are intimately associated with, and especially cultivated by, Augustus.[43] Each has responded to previous calls for help, and it is not at all surprising that the Romans should instinctively turn to these gods in their present extremity. What is surprising is that none of these should turn out to be Jupiter's chosen agent.

The conclusion of this section (stanzas 8-10) with its horrifying view of a foreigner's savagery to a suffering Roman soldier and Mars looking on with pleasure illustrates vividly why the hastily summoned patron gods are all unsuitable for the role of expiator. The very reasons adduced for their "appropriateness," their energetic partisanship, their history of willing intervention in the interest of their own, has made them party to the crime. Help to one side in civil war must presume harm to the other, and both are Roman. As with Mars, so with Apollo and Venus: their aid to their own (Augustus, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar) has entailed the destruction of their own. In the appeal to each is the suggestion of the military character of his aid. Their intervention can only aggravate the crisis, not expiate it. They cannot help the Romans for the same reason that the Romans cannot help themselves.

The helplessness of the Romans in stanzas 8-10 is developed by dramatic irony as the poet shows the reader what his protagonists, his speakers, the Romans, cannot themselves see. Although the section begins with the clear announcement that Jupiter will decide who is to be chosen expiator, the Romans leap to a frantic scramble of summoning expiators. To such

[42] Caesar was of course as much at fault for his alliance with Bocchus.

[43] Cf., especially, J. B. Carter's chapter, "The Augustan Renaissance," in *The Religion of Numa* (New York, 1906).

wrongheadedness is added inability to see that they are calling on exactly the wrong gods. In the first half of the poem their purblind perversity had finally driven Jupiter to illustrate impending annihilation by staging a literal reminder in the flood. And so at last they saw (stanza 6). In stanza 7 they were unable to act in their own behalf, not knowing to what god to turn, or with what prayer. What we are told in stanza 7 we are then shown in stanzas 8-10. The final turn of dramatic irony is that while they are rushing about in futility and desperation the expiator is already at hand (*in terris* and the present tense of *imitaris*, line 42).

In repetition of the pattern of the poem's initial movement, where three stanzas were given to a potential flood that did not happen, followed by two stanzas on a flood that did, here, following on three stanzas given to potential saviors that did not come, we have two devoted to the savior actually sent, Mercury. Students of the poem who have been able to show so abundantly the "appropriateness" of Apollo, Venus, and Mars to be expiator have been hard put to justify Jupiter's appointment of Mercury. An Augustan cult of Mercury has been inferred to give Augustus a relationship to that god similar to his well-documented promotion of the cult of Apollo. But the only testimony that can be offered for such a cult is this passage; other evidence is only support for a statement here, and there seems to be no such statement here.[44] Rather for the same reasons that the "appropriateness" of the other three divinities was an obstruction to their election, it is the very neutrality of Mercury that makes it possible for him to serve as expiator. Their partisanship implicated them in the guilt; free from commitment past or present to any party, his impartiality enables him to be the agent of Jupiter's radical re-ordering.

The other gods were invited in terms suggestive of help on the battlefield. With the sacrosanctity of the herald, Mercury is always essentially a civilian and necessarily noncombatant; he is the god of commerce and communication, eloquence, mediation and conciliation, of truces and the termination of war. His

[44] Cf. K. Scott, "Merkur-Augustus und Horaz c. 1 2," *Hermes*, LXIII (1928), pp. 15-33; Kiessling-Heinze, *ad loc.*; Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 ff.

caduceus is a symbol of the resolution of conflict, and ambassadors charged with ending a war were named *caduceatores* from this distinctive badge of office.[45] It is in this character that Mercury comes: *mutata iuvenem figura . . . in terris imitaris.* As the poem's concern with Apollo's costume and Venus' retinue was deeper than merely for an evocation of a visual impression, it is likewise here only superficially interested in the style or form of Mercury's external appearance, but far more significantly occupied in the formulation of the god's attitude and function. As with Apollo, the visual depiction of his "costume" triggers striking Homeric echoes that identify his role. In *Il.*, XXIV, 347-8, Hermes leads Priam safely through the camp of the Greeks on his visit to Achilles to ransom the body of Hector:[46]

> βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἐοικώς
> πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη.

In *Od.*, X, 278-9, Hermes accosts Odysseus, bringing a prophylactic herb and instructions on conciliating Circe's hostile bent into love for him:

> νεηνίῃ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς
> πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ, τοῦ περ χαριέστατος ἥβη.

The address to Mercury in our poem must be a direct allusion to the Homeric formula, the Homeric reminiscence informing the Horatian passage to identify beyond question the god's particular aspect as distinct from his other postures and roles (e. g.,

[45] Cf. F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (tr. H. Mattingly [London, 1938]), pp. 531 f., n. 49.

[46] Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 249, noticed the similarity and cited the passage, but drew a different conclusion. His interpretation is that Horace, attracted by the analogy of Mercury's and Augustus' handsome youthfulness, was induced (among other reasons for the selection) to make Mercury the savior to "follow up the analogy." Fraenkel's suggestion that the Homeric passage is related to the Horatian one is only tentative: "Finally, I like to think, though I can offer no proof, that there was still something else that turned Horace's thoughts to Hermes." With the second Homeric passage here adduced and the evidence that this was an epic formula for Hermes, the relationship is more certain (although the present discussion aims at understanding the poem's suggestion rather than at the far more difficult question of the suggestibilities of the poet).

ψυχαγωγός). Jupiter's expiating agent is present in the function of mediator-herald, and his mien is conciliatory.

The vocabulary of the theatre introduced when salvation was first suggested, *cui dabit partis* (lines 29-30), is repeated in *imitaris* (line 42), strengthening the suggestion that Mercury is "playing the part" in which he has been cast, but that salvation is directed by Jupiter. The point is further emphasized by the repetition of *terris* (line 42) from line 1: Jupiter sent the admonitory phenomena to the earth and then has sent the expiator who is even now on earth. Not only his selection, but Mercury's role as conciliator as well has the authority of Jupiter.

This role is the antithesis of vengeance (*patiens vocari Caesaris ultor*, lines 43-4), and the opposition of the two is tightly drawn in the very combination of *patiens* and *ultor*. The phrase is itself a union of contradictory conceptions, of the capacity to tolerate (*patiens*) with its opposite counterpart of reprisal (*ultor*). The conciliator cannot logically be invoked as avenger. Further, two words of the phrase are implicated in the elaborate texture of inner allusion woven by word-repetition. *Vocari* (line 43) returns the reader's attention to the agonized ignorance of a god to call upon, *quem vocet divum populus ruentis imperi rebus* in stanza 7. After three stanzas given to its dramatic enactment in entreaties to potential saviors, all misconceived and so misdirected, the presence of the rescuer is now revealed, and the significant word *vocari*, coming to surface again in line 43, recalls the people's earlier ignorance of a savior while displaying their present incapacity to understand the function of the conciliator whom they mistake for an avenger. Wherever we locate the meaning of *patiens* on the scale from "endure" to "permit," it must carry the sense that *Caesaris ultor* is not a correct characterization or a proper denomination.[47] Since Greek and Roman divinities were always sensitive

[47] Nussbaum (*loc. cit.*, p. 407) has suggested ". . . that we see in this phrase an invitation to Octavian to assume *Caesaris ultor* as a quasi-official title. . . ." But what meaning could *patiens* then have? Why should a title be advanced that its bearer would find a burden? Aside from the consideration that it would fit Antony as well as Octavian, does the advocacy of vengeance thus inferred not run counter to the whole course of the poem? If one feels compelled to theorize, it is perhaps better to conjecture that the poem might have been written

to the matter of exact apostrophe, as the cautious and inclusive wording of prayers and hymns attests, the god's acquiescence to this mode of address is further testimony of his real attitude, gracious and unresentful, as opposed to the contradictory characterization of vindictiveness.

The other recurrent word of the phrase, *ultor,* is in its three instances in the poem the key word of the ode, as Commager has noted: "What is the poem about? Primarily revenge, as the repetition of *ultor* insists (18, 44, 51)." [48] Its use here forcefully reintroduces into the present passage Ilia's excessive bitterness and Tiber's compulsion to avenge an old wrong, *Iliae dum se nimium querenti iactat ultorem* (lines 17-18). Coupling of *Caesaris ultor* with Tiber's vindictive, divinely prevented, determination to destroy Rome adds to the conceptual paradox of mediation *vs.* revenge another level of antithesis intrinsic to the unique development of this poem. As we have seen, it is the very retaliatory destruction of one's own people that threatens the collapse of Rome. Jupiter's agent of deliverance can obviously not participate in the cycle of revenge from which he is himself to free the Romans, just as their participation in civil war prevented Apollo, Venus, and Mars from election to the role. In the misunderstanding of Mercury's function the poem enacts the tragic error the Romans have historically been making. Yearning to end civil war they have been struggling to fight it to a conclusion that will be the end of Rome; stubbornly blind, they could not see that annihilation was imminent, or then that in searching for deliverance they were spontaneously turning to solutions that could only worsen the crisis. Now, with salvation possible, their fatally wrongheaded but persistent instincts cause them to misinterpret the meaning of salvation as its exact antithesis. The poem shows them doing so in the carefully built self-contradiction which is stanza 11.

But vengeance for Caesar's murder had been the very program

under the circumstance of Octavian's consideration of various forms of political settlement and titles appropriate, among them *Caesaris ultor* and dictatorship (however it was to be presented to the public), and that the poet's reaction is one of disapproval and fear that it might provoke further civil upheaval.

[48] *Loc. cit.*, p. 38 and *passim.*

and policy of the young Octavian before Philippi, as he was himself at the end of his life to interpret it in *Res Gestae* (2): *qui parentem meum necaverunt eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.* The great temple of Mars Ultor would be dedicated in 2 B.C. in celebration of the victory. Commager sees in the vengeance of Tiber and the vengeance for Caesar's death "a kind of parable to caution Octavian, the self-proclaimed avenger of his father, against further punishments,"[49] and the urging upon Octavian of a new role: "For Horace expiation depends less upon the presence than the character of the ruler—for it is with possible characters that the Ode's latter half deals, as Horace seeks a god suitable to endure being called *Caesaris ultor*."[50] His interpretation sees the poem's message as directed entirely to the future, and, for the future, is persuasive. But does its preoccupation with the past—and its association of Tiber's vindictiveness with the fall of Rome and then with vengeance for Caesar—not inevitably include a rejection of Octavian's earlier public "image"?

It can be responded that Octavian did not write the poem nor has it been proposed that he dictated it, and that the notion of Horace as the venal and accommodating publicity agent of the Augustan regime is a preconception not supported by the evidence. L. A. MacKay has recently reviewed the evidence,[51] and his cogent summary should be periodically repeated:

> . . . something still remains to be done in liberating him from the straitjacket imposed by scholars who saw in Horace a poet of a type with which in later Western civilization they had been only too familiar—the venal court poet, whose pen is ever at his patron's service, who has or at least expresses no opinion of his own on public matters, but takes his subjects and the interpretation of them from his master's command. There is no indication that Horace was that kind of poet. He was sensible enough to appreciate Augustus' power, and fair-minded enough to acknowledge

[49] *Loc. cit.*, p. 50.

[50] *Loc. cit.*, p. 55, and *infra*: "The dangers of a single ruler presented themsleves with greater immediacy to Horace than to his contemporary (Vergil), and apprehension perceptibly qualifies his praise."

[51] "Horace, Augustus, and *Ode*, I, 2," *A. J. P.*, LXXXIII (1962), pp. 168-77.

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> from an early date the generally beneficent intent and effect of his policies. But it does not follow that he acclaimed all Augustus' policies and actions at the word of command, that he waited for orders before speaking out on a theme of public interest, or even that when he did speak out he carefully calculated and censored his expressions with a view to the approval of Augustus, or of Maecenas.[52]

MacKay then interprets the present passage as a direct rejection of Octavian's earlier role as Caesar's avenger.[53]

Both Commager and MacKay are convincing as the former sees in the poem a discountenance of vengeance for the future and the latter its disavowal as regards the past. Both interpretations are supported by the poem, which poetically explores the fatal consequences of vengeance past and future. But although readily accepting MacKay's judicious assessment of Horace's integrity and independence, must one assume in the poem a courageous statement in which Augustus would have taken offense? The program of vengeance for Caesar was politically obsolete after Philippi, and though continuing to exploit the name of Caesar, the memory of Caesar the Dictator was not actively promoted by his heir.[54] And although Philippi had been only a dozen years or so prior to the early 20's B.C., to which is commonly assigned composition of the poem, constantly shifting situations of alliance and enmity—in war and in "cold" war—had wrought so many dramatic changes that Philippi must have seemed long ago and the public "image" and political program it represented a matter distant indeed.

And need the reader feel that *Caesaris ultor* points specifically to Octavian and to him alone? We have seen that the "metamorphosis" of Mercury into a young mortal is not a statement of event, even symbolically,[55] but (as in the case of Apollo) a

[52] *Loc. cit.*, p. 170.

[53] *Loc. cit.*, p. 175: "*Patiens vocari.* Not 'proud to be called,' not 'pleased to be called,' nor simply 'calling himself,' but 'suffering himself to be called.' No one could overlook the stress that Augustus laid on his role as Caesar's avenger; but the ode is a protest against this interpretation of his mission."

[54] Cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), p. 250; pp. 317 ff.

[55] The interpretation of J. Elmore, "Horace and Octavian (*Car.* 1. 2)," *C. Ph.*, XXVI (1931), pp. 258-63.

formula whose Homeric associations characterize the role of the god. It is gods that are being besought, and the present study suggests that Mercury has not been transformed into any contemporary human being, Augustus included.[56] The taut antithesis on several levels between conciliator and avenger meticulously develops, more than the incompatability, the impossibility of equating the two. Eliminating the notion of incarnation and converting its meaning to assertion, the sentence says "Or if you, Mercury, are already functioning in the assigned role of conciliator, putting up with being invoked as avenger of Caesar." Has Augustus in particular been singled out? The Roman reader had not forgotten that the role of Caesar's avenger was shared equally by Antony, if not more than equally; it was Antony who was responsible for victory at Philippi.

The poem's horror embraces every faction and whole generations of civil war (Sulla, Pompey, Caesar); in its allusion to Philippi and the avenging of Caesar, neither Antony nor Augustus can be excluded. By linking *ultor* in line 44 with Tiber's actions and their motives in stanza 5, Philippi is tied into the web of extinction of mankind caused by unrelenting retaliation and the tenacious partisanship which extends to the destruction of one's own. Horace was not the toady to make of Augustus an exception to the tragic historical mistake of all the Romans; neither is he himself an exception nor did he disclaim his own part in it.

It is broadly observed that Horace never apologizes for the republicanism of his student days. Let us acknowledge as well his avoidance of the opposite fault. He never comforts himself

[56] And there is every reason to assume that stanza 12, where everything is explicit in its allusion to Mercury, *would* be offensive. Apart from the cloying sycophancy which the most generous allowance for fancy cannot explain away, the last entreaty (*neve te . . . ocior aura tollat*) would make Augustus appear ludicrous. Mercury is of course a winged god (*ales*, line 42); his aviational prowess engaged the imagination of Vergil also (cf. the description of his swooping about in *Aen.*, IV, 245-58). But the conceit of Augustus' soaring off on the breeze seems frivolous to the point of impertinence. And the verb *tollat* might even awaken the memory of Cicero's widely quoted quip about the young Octavian, *laudandus, ornandus, tollendus* (Vell. Pat., II, 62, 6; Cic., *ad Fam.*, XI, 20, 1).

with soothing self-conviction of the sublime righteousness of the lost cause. If Philippi is not confessed wrong, it is never extolled as right.[57] Not that the assassination of Caesar deserved to go unnoticed and unpunished, nor were Ilia and Tiber without grounds for bitterness over an injustice that was indeed done her. The poem does not assess blame; much of its point seems to be that the inclination to do so, and to exact the retribution deserved, has prolonged the wars and brought Rome to the verge of self-annihilation. Civil war has fed on the cycle of wrong and retaliation for wrong, and what family, what party could not point to outrages it had received that demanded satisfaction? All are to blame, and no person or faction is excluded from responsibility for the reciprocal injustice of endless feud. That is why the Romans cannot save themselves, why salvation must come through breaking the cycle by expiation and a radical new beginning, as in the flood of Pyrrha. That is why Jupiter has sent as expiator a neutral who can mediate.

With recognition that the expiator is on earth one might expect a swell of grateful relief. Rather the tone of stanzas 11 and 12 is that of their antecedent counterpart in the pattern of the ode, stanzas 4 and 5: toward the flood that did happen and the expiator who did come a tentative uneasiness about a matter still unsettled. The unsettling surprise of the disclosure that an expiator is present, and one other than those invoked, is continued and expanded in stanza 12 by the disquieting fear that the expiation might not become complete and final. The Roman who had experienced and survived the "settlements" of recent years, the dearly bought and only illusory stability of triumvirate and dictatorship, may be pardoned for an anxious concern about the durability of any reconciliation of feuding factions and their chiefs. This one must be permanent and will not be achieved quickly. The expiator must abide on earth, and his conciliatory patience must endure among a people who have permanently renounced vendetta, as the stanza repeatedly insists in *serus* (line

[57] When he speaks directly of the battle, in the third stanza of *Odes*, II, 7, he smiles first at his own performance and then at the ineffectuality of the Great Cause of the Liberators against the weapons of their enemies, *cum fracta virtus et minaces turpe solum tetigere mento* (lines 11-12). What self-righteous sermons on *Virtus* there must have been in that camp!

45), *diuque* (line 45), and *neve . . . te ocior aura tollat* (lines 47-9).

But latent in the gracious request that the god be pleased to extend as long as possible his stay among the Romans is the implication of the dread consequences if he does not. In every line of this stanza there is brought to present context a word charged with its own special and intrinsic significance from use earlier in the poem. Into the prayer that the mediator not soon return to heaven, *serus in caelum redeas* (line 45), is knit the warning of Jupiter and the terror of mankind that its end is again at hand, *terruit urbem terruit gentes grave ne REDIRET saeculum Pyrrhae* (lines 3-5).

After the terrible realization of stanza 6 the poem seemed in stanza 7 to be arrested in its course as the people drew together in a despairing conviction that there was no help for them, *quem vocet . . . populus*? (line 25). Thereafter there is no suggestion of any unanimity again until in line 46 the expiator is besought to remain gladly among the people of Quirinus. The Romans are unified in the conception of Rome as a community and identify themselves by the name of their common founder, the very phrasing of the invitation to abide an indication of the unifying effect of the god's presence. But the second incidence of *populus* in stanza 12 is impregnated with the paralyzed helplessness with which it was imbued in stanza 7. In line 46 it carries the glow of harmony, but leering from behind it is the consequence of its neglect.

In the hospitable request that "no breeze waft you too soon aloft, offended by our sins," *nostris vitiis iniquum* is more than a modest and self-depreciating "wicked though we be." To look first at *iniquum*, it is the antithesis of Mercury's conciliatory tolerance in stanza 11. His patience is not infinite; recurrence of sinfulness will estrange him and hasten his departure before the conciliation has become permanent. Jupiter's emissary is showing them the means to salvation, but the Romans must accept and persist in his example. Without the occurrence of *vitio*, in line 23, and the dimension of meaning which that now gives its subsequent appearance in *nostris vitiis iniquum*, the bare extrinsic meaning of "wickedness" is general and vague.[58]

[58] Cf., for example, Elmore's explanation that Mercury, like Octavian,

But a clear import, intrinsic and peculiar to this poem, is given when it draws into the present passage the sixth stanza's terrible realization of the Romans that they are destroying themselves and their future, *audiet pugnas VITIO parentum rara iuventus.* The "wickedness" is the feuding destruction of their own, from which they must abstain if the mediating god is not to abandon them to self-inflicted genocide. Earlier *vitio parentum* expressed the cause of the imminent extermination of mankind which once before Jupiter had visited on man, in disgust for wickedness beyond repair. Now in the prayer that Mercury not prematurely depart, *vitiis* insinuates the inevitable and fatal sequel should he do so.

As we look at stanza 12 as a unit, the three expressions of time (*serus, diu, neve ocior*) combine with the three words repeated from use earlier (*redeas, populo, vitiis*) to fix in considerable clarity the alternatives offered the Romans: on the one hand extinction, on the other a willingness to forego partisan loyalties long enough to give the expiating process of reconciliation an opportunity to achieve a lasting union. For the Roman of Horace's day,[59] his own experience and historical perspective could only make his view of the conclusion of yet another civil war uneasy if not cynical. Hence the poem's constant reflection of the vision of the flood and of persistent warnings from heaven. "This time we *must* reunite or bring down on ourselves and the world the end of civilization."

The first movement of the poem (stanza 1-6) was constructed in a narrowing pattern of three stanzas, two stanzas, and a final stanza. The second movement (stanzas 8-13) is disposed in a

is a puritan, *op. cit.*, p. 263. Cf., also, K. Barwick, "Horaz Carm. 1.2 und Vergil," *Philologus*, XC (1935), p. 276.

[59] The date of the poem's composition is again not in question. The sentiment would have been appropriate to any time up to the end of the first decade or so of the principate, before it would have begun to appear that the outcome of Actium was actually different from previous experience. The only secure, datable reference in the poem is to Caesar's assassination (*Caesaris ultor*, line 44). I think that it was written after Actium, but that is only conjecture from interpretation of the ode. It is equally possible that the salvation celebrated is a deliverance dramatically foreseen if the Romans will only embrace the poem's admonition. Any date will be purely subjective guesswork, and not really pertinent to the *Ode* as a poem.

parallel arrangement. As earlier with the floods, now with their expiation, we have:

I. 3 stanzas. Potential expiators who do not come
II. 2 stanzas. The expiator that does come
III. 1 stanza. The literal import of expiation

The narrowing focus of conception and expression in the first movement is repeated in the second: from saviors imagined in purely divine terms, to a savior active on earth but still seen as a divinity, to a stark and clear human actuality. The pattern of the first movement's emotional development is also reproduced. Where before we saw terror shift to uneasy relief and then to a sharp perception of hard reality, in the second movement we are led from frantic grasping at hope in the search for an expiator to a tentative and uneasy relief at the discovery of the expiator, and now in the last stanza to the transformation of hope into realization that the expiation has been accomplished. Augusus is not the expiator; he is the meaning of an expiation that has made possible the reunion which he himself embodies. He is the manifestation in straightforward historical actuality of the salvation of the Romans, and, in accordance with the structural patterning of the poem, consequently kept for its radiant final movement.

In the first line of stanza 13 we meet with a surprise, and our attention is diverted from Mercury.[60] "Great triumphs" (line 49) are strikingly at odds with the pacific disposition of Mercury so extensively developed up to this point in the poem. The poem is repeating the technique of the stanza in the first movement parallel to this (stanza 6), withholding the subject to the very end, but the urging of military triumphs so out of character for the god alerts the reader, and in each line of the stanza there are exhortations that could hardly be addressed to Mercury.

[60] The structure of the last six stanzas would be neater but more mechanical, if it distinguished the separation of the last stanza from the twelfth by a full stop at the end of the twelfth rather than allowing the single word *tollat* to lap into the thirteenth. But there is no full stop at any point in the last six stanzas until the end (a point the punctuation of most editions reflects), which gives the larger passage a continuous, rapid flow. The effect of the "run-on" of *tollat* into stanza 13 is to further quicken the tempo just before the transplendent moment of clear understanding at the poem's end.

With *potius* (line 49) the stanza swings away even more from Mercury. Taken with *magnos . . . triumphos* it emphasizes the divergence of military acclaim from the diplomatic character of the mediator. Within the stanza and applied to Augustus, it implies victories over foreign enemies as opposed to the killing of Romans by Romans. Taken with the anaphorically stressed *hic* (lines 49, 50) it accentuates the human rather than the divine, the here-and-now literalness of the stanza. As far as the poem is concerned, Mercury has soared back to heaven with *ocior aura tollat* of lines 49-50, in precisely the same way that at stanza 6, with an abrupt change of subject, the flood was dismissed and replaced by recognition of its meaning. The second *hic* carries the "here-and-now" to *ames dici* (line 50), and so points up the subtle difference between the two earlier instances of *voco* (lines 25, 43), implying the name to be sought of a god to be summoned, and *dici*, the characterizing denomination of one who is here.

In the second line of the stanza, the distinctive posture of Augustus is betokened by the appellation of *pater*. This is not the official title *Pater Patriae*, conferred by the senate in 2 B. C.; it characterizes the role Augustus is to play, which is to transcend his earlier public character. He is to be *pater* as well as *princeps*. Let us first consider *princeps*, the usual term for the party dynasts of the civil wars.[61] Used by Cicero in referring to Pompey,[62] and (according to Suetonius) by Caesar in referring to himself,[63] Horace applies it to the same party chieftains of the first triumvirate in *Odes*, II, 1, *gravesque principum amicitias* (lines 2-3 of that poem). As such the Romans must have seen Augustus during the first years after Actium, another party dynast of the civil wars who had emerged for the moment victorious.

But as the Romans, to survive, must forswear factions, so the radical purification and the new beginning is signalled in the enlarged public character of Augustus. This new role is repre-

[61] Also not a title officially bestowed like the technical designation of *princeps senatus*. Cf. H. F. Pelham, "*Princeps* or *Princeps Senatus*?," *J. Phil.*, VIII (1879), pp. 323-33.

[62] *Ad Fam.*, I, 9.

[63] *Jul.*, 29.

sented by *pater*, a title first granted to Romulus,[64] and implies the same unity conveyed by the phrase *populo Quirini* (line 46): the Romans as a united community identified by the name of the common father of them all, the founder of Rome.[65] By inference Augustus, as the second founder, is to accomplish anew what Romulus had done originally in building Rome, consolidating it, securing its posterity (we recall *rara inventus*, and the Sabine women), and leading his people against their enemies.

Beyond this extrinsic meaning of *pater* as Romulus, however, is the intrinsic meaning derived from its application to Jupiter in line 2. The poem began with Jupiter's insistent warnings of impending ruin. It was he who rescued the city from Tiber's spiteful rampage, and he who in his wisdom selected the right expiator for the Romans. Augustus is to follow Jupiter's example as a patient, merciful protector of the well-being of his people. From a view that embraces them all, Augustus is to furnish Olympian foresight and direction. If one suspects implications of a heavy price to pay for this paternal care, let him only glance back at the dreadful spectacle of the alternative.

Another sign of Rome's absolution from the self-perpetuating cycle of vengeance is the exhortation that Augustus lead a war of righteous vengeance against foreign enemies, *neu sinas Medos equitare inultos*. In stanza 6 civil war diverted the Romans from addressing themselves to their real military task, the Parthian menace. Their reconciliation into a people of one accord is exemplified by the proposal that it is now time—that it is now possible—for the Romans to look to their corporate frontiers. The third instance of the word for vengeance, *inultos* in line 51 (after *ultorem*, line 18; *ultor*, line 44) marks the end of the cycle of feud in a redirection of vengeance.

Caesar (line 52) is significant as the last word of the poem and because, though the subject, it has been postponed to the end of the sentence. It has further importance as repetition of the name from line 44. As *inultos* in the preceding line gave the final turn to the theme of vendetta, *Caesar* recalls the other

[64] Livy, I, 16.

[65] For the implications of this identification of Augustus as the new Romulus, and full documentation, see K. Scott, "The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus," *T. A. P. A.*, LVI (1925), pp. 82-105.

word of the significant phrase *Caesaris ultor* (line 44) and makes full use of its important position to contrast the second with the earlier instance of the word. Positive is now set against negative, Caesar's presence and leadership against the impulse toward vengeance for Caesar's death, and so, reconciliation against annihilation. The name of Caesar sets the seal on the new dispensation.

Commager interprets the ode as admonition to Augustus not to wreak vengeance on the defeated party in his war with Antony.[66] Aside from difficulty I feel about the suggestion that Horace would counsel the *princeps* on matters of policy, the present analysis of the poem does not find Horace's the voice of the poem; but rather it is the Romans speaking in a corporate voice, an essentially dramatic presentation of the narrowing focus of their perception, of their painfully growing understanding and acceptance of what had to be done and the only way of doing it. If there is any enjoinder to an attitude, it is to the people as a whole. And although the poem is commonly referred to as an ode to Augustus, he is only the last of a series of powers apostrophized. He is not the expiator sent by Jupiter, but the manifestation in current historical fact that expiation is complete, a far more valuable compliment than some suggestion that he is really a god got up in disguise. His presence at the end of the poem seems rather Jupiter's blessing and benediction. Gratitude for salvation is owed not to Augustus, who exemplifies it, but to Jupiter, who bestowed it upon the helpless Romans, the opposite of what they deserved. With the old depravity cleansed away there is regeneration, but without the awesome price of the flood of Pyrrha. The meaning of the new day is embodied in Augustus.

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[66] *Loc. cit.*, p. 47 and *passim*.

DID THE ARGIVES DEFEAT THE SPARTANS AT HYSIAE IN 669 B. C.?

The battle of Hysiae plays a brief though prominent role in all modern accounts of the history of the Peloponnesus in the seventh century B. C.[1] An Argive victory over the Spartans here in 669 B. C. is almost universally accepted as historical fact. From time to time some scepticism has been voiced about the date,[2] but neither the battle itself nor the alleged Argive victory in it has ever been seriously questioned. Indeed, most scholars are convinced that the Argives won a signal victory, and that the Spartans were soundly and thoroughly defeated.[3] It has been argued,[4] for example, that Sparta's defeat at Hysiae provided the Messenians with an opportunity to revolt against their recent conquerors and thus inaugurate the second Messenian war. Wade-Gery, in a brief but now widely cited note, has argued that a religious festival, the Gymnopaediae, was instituted at Sparta in the following year to commemorate and

[1] The treatment of N. G. L. Hammond, *A History of Greece* (Oxford, 1959), p. 136 is characteristic; it reads, "Argos . . . defeated Sparta decisively at Hysiae in 669. The decline of Sparta's prestige and the success of Argos may have encouraged Pisa to revolt from Elis in 668 and gain control of the sanctuary at Olympia in 660."

[2] Georg Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, I[2] (Gotha, 1893), pp. 596-7, n. 1; K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I[2], Part I (Strassbourg, 1923), p. 335, n. 1; Hermann Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte*[2] (Munich, 1960), p. 81, n. 4; Chester G. Starr, "The Credibility of Early Spartan History," *Historia*, XIV (1965), p. 268; E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity*, I (Stockholm, 1965), p. 69, and p. 374, n. 530.

[3] Only a few examples need be cited here. George L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (Cambridge, 1962), says on p. 29 that the Spartans suffered a "severe defeat," and on p. 53 that they suffered a "crushing defeat." H. T. Wade-Gery, *C. A. H.*[1], III, p. 504, says the Spartans were "thoroughly defeated." A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), p. 74, says they were "heavily defeated." Luigi Moretti, *Ricerche sulle leghe greche* (Rome, 1962), p. 12, refers to it as "una durissima sconfitta," and Christian Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens* (Lund, 1943), p. 65, calls it "einer grossen Niederlage."

[4] Huxley, *Early Sparta*, p. 53.

keep alive the memory of this bitter defeat.[5] On the Argive side, the date 669 has become one of the keystones for dating the reign of Pheidon, that inscrutable Argive tyrant. Although no ancient author tells us he commanded the Argive forces in this battle, it is now commonly assumed that he did. It is further assumed, again without any supporting ancient evidence, that it was his victory at Hysiae that allowed him to march to Olympia in the following year and gain control of the games there.[6]

An enquiry into the ancient evidence for the battle of Hysiae reveals that it is mentioned by only one ancient author, Pausanias,[7] and he, it must be remembered, lived and wrote approximately eight hundred years after the battle supposedly was fought. He was as far removed from it, therefore, as we are from the reign of Louis VII in France or Frederick I Barbarossa in the Holy Roman Empire. In the whole corpus of Greek writing that has come down to us, the battle of Hysiae is nowhere else mentioned.[8] Yet no one has ever asked if a brief passage

[5] H. T. Wade-Gery, "A Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaidiai," *C.Q.*, XLIII (1949), pp. 79-81. W. Den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam, 1954), pp. 221-7, has shown, however, that there is good reason to believe that a severe military defeat had nothing to do with the inception of this festival; see also F. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, III B (Leiden, 1955), pp. 646-7.

[6] The problem of dating Pheidon's reign cannot be gone into here. Pausanias, VI, 22, 2, says that he interfered at Olympia in the eighth Olympiad in 748 B. C., but this difficulty has been resolved by emending the text to read twenty-eighth, which would place his expedition to Olympia in the year 668. This emendation ignores Herodotus, VI, 127, where Pheidon is clearly dated to the late seventh century, and it also ignores the fact that in 668 a Spartan, Charmis, won the stadion and another Spartan, Philombrotus, won the pentathlon at Olympia. For further discussion on Pheidon's date see A. Andrewes, "The Corinthian Actaeon and Pheidon of Argos," *C.Q.*, XLIII (1949), pp. 70-8; Den Boer, *Laconian Studies*, pp. 55-64; and M. Th. Mitsos, *Ἀργολικὴ Προσωπογραφία* (Athens, 1952), pp. 180-2.

[7] II, 24, 7.

[8] Both Wade-Gery, *C.Q.*, XLIII (1949), p. 81, n. 2, and Huxley, *Early Sparta*, p. 126, n. 341 believe that a war between Argos and Sparta that Pausanias, III, 7, 5, says occurred in the reign of the Spartan king Theopompus is the same war in which the battle of Hysiae was fought, but there is no evidence for this.

in Pausanias, a passage written eight hundred years after the event, is more valid historical evidence than the silence of all other Greek writers. This is, however, a question that must be asked, for to accept on faith what he alone of all ancient literary figures tells us is surely a misplacement of priorities. We might legitimately do so, perhaps, if Pausanias had an impeccable reputation as an historian, but this is not the case. While he was well-travelled and generally well-informed on topography and on the monuments he saw and described, it has been shown that the historical information he provides was usually gleaned from late and often inferior authors.[9] On occasion, in fact, he displays hardly more historical perception than his twentieth century counterpart, the inevitable tourist. I hope to show that there is no justification for categorically accepting his account of this battle, and that there is a strong likelihood that he was both confused and mistaken about an Argive defeat of Sparta at Hysiae in 669 B.C.

His brief notice of the battle deserves to be quoted in full here:

> *ἐπανελθοῦσι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐπὶ Τεγέας ὁδόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου Τρόχου Κεγχρεαί. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ὅτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ γέγονεν, οὐ λέγουσι, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα ὠνομάσθη διὰ τὸν Πειρήνης παῖδα Κεγχρίαν. καὶ πολυάνδρια ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν Ἀργείων νικησάντων μάχῃ Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ Ὑσιάς. τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα τοῦτον συμβάντα εὗρισκον Ἀθηναίοις ἄρχοντος Πεισιστράτου, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ⟨ἑβδόμης καὶ εἰκοστῆς⟩ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἣν Εὐρύβοτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐνίκα στάδιον. καταβάντος δὲ ἐς τὸ χθαμαλώτερον ἐρείπια Ὑσιῶν ἐστι πόλεώς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι, καὶ τὸ πταῖσμα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.*[10]

[9] Although certain sections of Pausanias' work have received a good deal of attention, the sources and historical method generally employed by him have been negected. Mario Segré, "Pausania come fonte storica," *Historia*, I (1927), pp. 202-34 is still basic, and Otto Regenbogen, "Pausanias," *R.-E.*, Supplementband VIII (Stuttgart, 1956), cols. 1063-77, summarizes the modern literature on the subject. Pausanias' section on the Messenian wars has been carefully analyzed and found to be seriously deficient by several scholars; see, for example, Eduard Schwartz, "Die messenische Geschichte bei Pausanias," *Philologus*, XCII (1937), pp. 19-46; Lionel Pearson, "The Pseudo-History of Messenia and its Authors," *Historia*, XI (1962), pp. 410-26. F. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, III B, pp. 60-2 discusses Pausanias' section on the Argolid.

[10] Pausanias, II, 24, 7; I have used the Teubner text of F. Spiro (Stuttgart, 1903). The Loeb translation of W. H. S. Jones (London,

The sketchiness of Pausanias' knowledge is immediately noticeable; he provides us with little positive information. We learn that a battle took place and that the Argives were victorious, but we must infer that they suffered considerable loss of life in the process. The Argive dead were buried in common tombs, and since Pausanias uses the plural form, *πολυάνδρια*, he apparently saw more than one common tomb. Additionally we learn only when the battle took place, but here it is important to note that the number of the Olympiad has fallen out of all texts, and it can only be determined from other sources. Unfortunately, a seventh century Athenian archon by the name of Peisistratus is not otherwise known, but Dionysius of Halicarnassus[11] does name a certain Eurybates, a dialectical variation of Eurybotus, as victor in the twenty-seventh Olympiad, and on this basis it is now generally accepted that the battle took place in the year 669 B. C.

The meager information that Pausanias does provide must be considered in the light of a number of basic and fundamental historical questions that he leaves unanswered, and that no conscientious historian or curious searcher after truth could have ignored completely. Surely we would like to know, for example, how badly were the Spartans defeated? Why did the Argives suffer such heavy losses that their dead had to be buried in common graves? Why were these dead buried at Cenchreae, several miles[12] east of the actual site of the battle? Since the Spartans, in order even to get to Hysiae, would have had to pass

1918), reads as follows. "On returning to the road that leads to Tegea you see Cenchreae on the right of what is called the Wheel. Why the place received this name they do not say. Perhaps in this case also it was Cenchrias, son of Peirene, that caused it to be so called. Here are common graves of the Argives who conquered the Lacedaemonians in battle at Hysiae. This fight took place, I discovered, when Peisistratus was archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the twenty-seventh Olympiad, in which the Athenian, Eurybotus, won the foot-race. On coming down to a lower level you reach the ruins of Hysiae, which once was a city in Argolis, and here it is that they say the Lacedaemonians suffered their reverse."

[11] *Ant. Rom.*, III, 1, 3, and cf. T. J. Cadoux, "The Athenian Archons from Kreon to Hypsichides," *J. H. S.*, LXVIII (1948), p. 90.

[12] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III (London, 1913), pp. 212-14, locates Cenchreae about four miles east of Hysiae.

through Tegean territory and perilously close to the city of Tegea itself, what role did Tegea and the Tegeans play in this battle? Who was king of Sparta at the time? Who was king of Argos? If, on the one hand, Pausanias failed to ask questions such as these, can we even consider him a credible historical source at all? If, on the other hand, he did ask such questions but received no answers worth recording, can we really accept as infallible that information which he did find out and pass on to us? In either case, his account of this battle must be viewed with more scepticism than most scholars have been willing to admit.

Unfortunately the πολυάνδρια that Pausanias saw at Cenchreae have never been positively identified. It has usually been assumed,[13] however, that what he saw and regarded as a common tomb was actually a pyramid-shaped building situated just off the road to Tegea about two kilometers west of the spring at Cephalaria. This is not an altogether unlikely assumption, for we know that at Ligurio, on the road from Argos to Epidaurus, Pausanias saw a similar pyramid which he definitely regarded as a tomb. It was, he tells us,[14] a μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ for the dead who had fallen in battle between Proetus and Acrisius, two legendary figures in Argive mythology. The pyramids at Cenchreae and Ligurio, along with several others in the Argolid, have been excavated,[15] and the archaeological evidence clearly reveals that they were not tombs at all, but rather guard stations or garrison houses from which the near by roads could be patrolled and watched over. Moreover, archaeological evidence also reveals that these pyramids date only from the latter half of the fourth century B. C. Consequently, if Pausanias did believe that the pyramid at Cenchreae was a common tomb for the Argive dead that had fallen in a seventh century battle of Hysiae, we need proceed no further. One can only conclude that when he passed through this area in the second century A. D., the Argives themselves did not know when or why this fourth century building

[13] Frazer, pp. 213-14, gives a list of earlier travellers who held this view.

[14] II, 25, 7.

[15] Louis E. Lord, "The 'Pyramids' of Argolis," *Hesperia*, VII (1938), pp. 481-527, and see also, "Blockhouses in the Argolid," *Hesperia*, X (1941), pp. 93-112.

had been erected, and we have absolutely no right to assume that they were better informed about a battle that supposedly occurred more than three hundred years before the construction of this pyramid.

It is possible that scholars have erred in their assumption that Pausanias saw this pyramid at Cenchreae and identified it as a common tomb of the Argives who had been killed in the battle of Hysiae; he may actually have seen one or more tombs here. Even if he did, however, it is not at all certain that they had any connection with a seventh century battle at the site.

The method that Pausanias used to date the battle of Hysiae has never received the attention it properly deserves. This is the only incident in the whole of Book II, his sections on Corinthia and the Argolid, that he dates according to the archon eponymous at Athens and an Olympic victor. Nowhere else in this entire book is a historical event dated by either of these means, much less by both. Pausanias does not refer or allude to a great many events in Argive history, and quite often when he does so he makes no attempt to give even an approximate, much less an absolute, date.[16] This is especially true if he is referring to something which took place in the sixth century or later. For events that took place earlier than this he usually gives some vague chronological reference, but the method he uses varies depending upon the context in which the event is related. Thus, for example, in his section on Laconia in Book III he briefly recounts Sparta's early wars with Argos,[17] and here he was satisfied to date these wars only generally by telling us who was reigning king at Sparta when each one was fought. In his section on Messenia in Book IV he tells us only incidentally and vaguely that Argos participated in both the first and second Messenian wars, and he dates these wars to specific Olympiads.[18]

[16] A good example is found in II, 38, 5, where in a single passage he lumps together without providing any chronological indications at all, the battle of Champions about 550 B. C., the settlement of the Aeginetans in Thyrea in 431 B. C., and the recovery of Thyrea by Argos after the battle of Chaeronea.

[17] All references to these early wars are found in Book III, chapters 2 and 7.

[18] His account of the Messenian Wars is contained in Book IV, chapters 4 through 23.

In a brief passage in Book VI he assigns Pheidon's usurpation of the Olympic games to the eighth Olympiad,[19] but here his chief concern was Elean, not Argive history. Except for the battle of Hysiae, Pausanias relates, in a purely Argive context, only two incidents that occurred prior to the sixth century: the destruction of Asine and the destruction of Nauplia.[20] In each case, he provides an approximate date by telling us who was king of Argos at the time; Asine, he tells us, was destroyed in the reign of king Eratus and Nauplia in the reign of Damocratidas. Archaeological evidence has confirmed that Asine was destroyed about 715 B. C.;[21] the date of the destruction of Nauplia is less certain but it must have occurred sometime in the latter half of the seventh century. Surely it is striking that Pausanias was able to find out who was king of Argos when Asine was destroyed and who was king of Argos when Nauplia was destroyed, but at the same time he was not able to find out who was king of Argos when the Spartans received a "crushing defeat" about midway between these two events.

This fact may be of no great importance or it may be more subtly significant than has previously been recognized; at the very least it is highly suggestive. We do not know where Pausanias may have learned that Eratus destroyed Asine or that Damocratidas destroyed Nauplia. It does not seem unreasonable to assume, however, that this information was ultimately derived from a written account of early Argive history which catalogued the main events in the reign of each king of the city. Additionally, his remark[22] that the Argives had a propensity for limiting the power of their monarchs until their last king, Meltas, was deposed, further suggests that Pausanias had access, either directly or indirectly, to such a work,[23] and since archae-

[19] VI, 22, 2.

[20] Asine: II, 36, 4, and at III, 7, 4, where Pausanias was talking about Spartan history, he dated the destruction to the reign of the Spartan king Nicander. Nauplia: IV, 35, 2.

[21] Otto Frödin and Axel W. Persson, *Asine: Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-30* (Stockholm, 1938), p. 437 on the destruction of the site. Paul Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide* (Paris, 1966), p. 656, dates the latest pottery found at the site to *ca.* 715-710 B. C.

[22] II, 19, 2.

[23] F. Jacoby, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford,

ology has confirmed the destruction of Asine it was apparently not a wholly unreliable one.[24] It does not seem likely that the author of a work of this nature would date an important battle at Hysiae by the archon eponymous at Athens and an Olympic victor, unless of course he was unable to find out in whose reign the battle had taken place. This too is possible, but if it actually did happen one might easily be led to believe that the battle of Hysiae was perhaps not even an Argive victory at all but a Spartan victory, and that no Argive king wanted his memory connected with it. Or one might suppose, alternately, that this battle took place only much later than 669 B. C., and at a date after the kingship at Argos had come to an end,[25] in which case there would have been no possibility of any later scholar assigning the battle to the reign of any Argive king. In short, if

1949), p. 59, believes that Hellanicus' Ἀργολικά was a local history of Argos that dated events by the reigning king of the city; however, Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 160-2 is not convinced that Hellanicus ever composed such a work. It is mentioned only once, in a scholia on Homer; cf. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, 4 F 36. Ephorus' section on Argos also apparently gave an account of the kings of Argos, and A. Andrewes, "Ephoros Book I and the Kings of Argos," *C. Q.*, XLV (1951), pp. 39-40 has argued that Pausanias followed his account, but we do not know if Ephorus mentioned either Eratus or Damocratidas. It may also be worth noting that Diogenes Laertius, II, 47 (*F. gr. Hist.*, 310 T 1), reports that Socrates of Argos wrote a Περιήγησιν Ἄργους, though Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, III B, p. 39 does not believe that Pausanias used this work.

[24] See my article, "The Argive Destruction of Asine," *Historia*, XVI (1967), pp. 422-31, where I have argued that while Pausanias may have been correct when he said the Argives destroyed Asine, he was confused as to their reason for it. The Argives did not attack Asine because its inhabitants had aided the Spartans in an invasion of the Argive plain, but rather because the Argives were attempting to assert their supremacy over this area and the people of Asine resisted this movement. It is important to note too, that even if Pausanias passes on accurate information on occasion, we are not justified in assuming that everything he says must be correct; on this see Chester G. Starr, "La ricostruzione della storia greca arcaica," *Riv. Fil.*, XCII (1964), pp. 5-23.

[25] We do not know exactly when this occurred, but presumably it was two generations after Pheidon; see A. Andrewes, "Ephoros Book I and the Kings of Argos," *C. Q.*, XLV (1951), pp. 39-45, and Michael Wörrle, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte von Argos im 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus* (Munich, 1964), pp. 76-89.

Pausanias learned of the destruction of Asine, the destruction of Nauplia, and the battle of Hysiae from a single source, we must wonder why its author employed two different methods of dating, and specifically, why he did not assign the battle of Hysiae to the reign of an Argive king. If, however, Pausanias learned of this battle from an entirely different source, one must wonder if the author who related the information about the destruction of Asine and Nauplia even mentioned the battle of Hysiae.

The very fact that this battle is nowhere else mentioned in all extant Greek writing, not even in the fragments of the local historians of Argos that have come down to us,[26] leads one to suspect that Pausanias might have learned of the battle from a non-written source. Indeed, the very tone of the passage in which the battle is mentioned strongly suggests that he passed on to his readers information he received from the guides that accompanied him as he travelled along the road from Argos to Tegea. We know that he made extensive use of guides or ἐξηγηταί as he journeyed throughout Greece, and in the Argolid he specifically mentions information he received from his guides at Troezen and in the city of Argos proper.[27] He must have been accompanied by such guides at Cenchreae, and it was undoubtedly from them that he learned of the πολυάνδρια and of the battle of Hysiae. It is true, admittedly, that not even a reasonably well-informed Argive in the second century A. D. would have been likely to know who won the stadion at Olympia three years before the battle, or who was archon at Athens in the year the battle was fought. This is information which Pausanias must have gotten elsewhere, and his use of the verb εὕρισκον here seems to suggest that his source for the date of the battle differed from his source for the battle itself. While it is perhaps not possible to determine how he was able to date the battle, we must not forget that there was a village named Hysiae near Plataea in Boeotia not far from the border with Attica. In the sixth and fifth centuries the Athenians and Boeotians vied for control of this settlement on several occasions, and for all

[26] These fragments have been collected by F. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, III B, pp. 6-25, with full and excellent commentary.

[27] On his use of guides in the Argolid see II, 23, 6 and II, 31, 4. In the whole of his work he mentions information he received from his guides on nineteen different occasions.

we know they may have done so at an earlier date as well. It is entirely possible that Pausanias confused an Athenian-Boeotian campaign at Boeotian Hysiae with an Argive-Spartan campaign at Argive Hysiae.[28]

In any case, the date commonly assigned to the battle can have no great claim to accuracy. It is extremely doubtful that the keeping of written records was an established custom in Greece as early as 669 B. C. Long before Pausanias' time we have reports that written records were not kept even at Olympia until the twenty-eighth Olympiad,[29] and it is easy to demonstrate that he had a poor knowledge of Peloponnesian chronology generally. His dating of the Battle of the Fetters is a good illustration of this. Herodotus firmly locates this famous campaign between Sparta and Tegea in the early sixth century, but Pausanias believed it occurred in the reign of the Spartan king Charillus, and he dates Charillus prior to the first Messenian War,[30] that is, about 750 B. C. If he could misplace this famous sixth century battle by a century and a half, he could easily have been similarly or even more grievously mistaken about a seventh century battle of Hysiae.

[28] The ancient literary references to Boeotian Hysiae have been assembled by F. Bölte, "Hysiae (1)," *R.-E.*, IX (Stuttgart, 1916), cols. 1171-5. W. K. Pritchett, "New Light on Plataea," *A. J. A.*, LXI (1957), pp. 9-10, 22-3, has attempted to identify the exact location of the ancient settlement. J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 28-9, gives a brief account of Athenian-Boeotian contests for supremacy over the area. It may be worth noting additionally that the inhabitants of Hysiae came under Athenian control, though not by warfare, late in the sixth century at approximately the same time that Peisistratus, grandson of the tyrant of the same name, was in fact archon at Athens; on this see Herodotus, VI, 108; Thucydides, VI, 54, 6-7, and cf. Cadoux, *J. H. S.*, LXVIII (1948), pp. 111-12, who dates Peisistratus' archonship to 522/21, that is, the third year of the sixty-fourth Olympiad.

[29] This claim was made by Aristodemus of Elis, a certain Polybius, and also by Callimachus; cf. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, 414 F 1. Plutarch, *Numa*, 1, also says that Hippias' list of Olympic visitors has no claim to accuracy. Albert Brouwers, "Lycurgue et la date de la fondation des jeux olympiques," *Mélanges Georges Smets* (Brussels, 1952), pp. 117-24 has shown good reason to believe that the games did not begin in 776 B. C.

[30] Herodotus, I, 66; Pausanias, III, 7, 3; VIII, 5, 6; 48, 3. Jacoby, *F. gr. Hist.*, III B, pp. 27-31 discusses the ancient evidence for this battle.

In this connection it is important to keep in mind that in 417 B. C., that is, more than five hundred years before Pausanias visited Hysiae, a battle did in fact take place there. In that year, as both Thucydides and Diodorus tell us,[31] the Spartans attacked the town, destroyed it, put all the freeborn inhabitants to death, and then withdrew immediately. We are not told where or how these dead were buried, but since considerable numbers were apparently involved, it is not likely that they were buried in individual graves; more probably they were interred in πολυάνδρια. Since, too, Hysiae itself had been destroyed, it would not be surprising if these dead were buried some distance away, perhaps at Cenchreae, which was situated east of Hysiae and therefore in the direction of Argos rather than Sparta. When Pausanias passed through here more than five centuries later his guides would have known of the tombs and that the dead who lay buried in them had fallen in battle against the Spartans centuries earlier. As we have seen, however, they knew little about the battle itself, and perhaps considerably less than they professed to know. Surely it is no surprise that these well-meaning Argives should remember the battle as a Spartan defeat. Pausanias was not entirely at the mercy of his guides; he may well have remembered the battle of 417 from his reading of Thucydides or Diodorus; he may even have asked his informants if this was not the battle they had in mind, but if he did, they assured him no doubt that the dead who lay buried here had not died so ingloriously at Spartan hands.

While there is no way to prove that something like this actually happened, a mistake of this nature would have been a perfectly logical one for either Pausanias or his guides to have made. One need only recall that a very similar mistake was apparently made as Pausanias travelled along the road from Eleusis to Megara. Just outside Eleusis his guides pointed out to him [32] what they believed were the graves of the leaders of the Argive expedition against Thebes several generations before the Trojan War. George Mylonas is convinced that he has excavated the very tombs that Pausanias saw here, and if he is correct there can be no doubt that his guides were con-

[31] Thucydides, V, 83, 2; Diodorus, XII, 81, 1.
[32] I, 39, 2.

fused. The graves do not all belong to the same period, but rather span a considerable space of time,[33] and they cannot, therefore, be associated with the dead who might have fallen in a campaign against Thebes in the thirteenth century B. C. as Pausanias and his guides believed.

To place Pausanias' problem—and ours—in its proper perspective it must be constantly kept in mind that he visited Hysiae and learned of the battle there some eight hundred years after it supposedly had taken place. Time itself is a great distorter of truth, and after the lapse of such a lengthy period even the most careful, conscientious, and intellectual historian would have trouble recreating what had actually happened, and Pausanias was none of these things. He is, to be sure, an invaluable guide to ancient Greek topography and monuments, but it must not be forgotten that these were his chief concerns. He was interested in history only incidentally, and he never went to any great lengths to ascertain or verify information. Whether he actually saw tombs at Cenchreae or only a fourth century fortification shaped like a pyramid may never be known for certain, but it does not matter all that much. No historian can be any better than his sources, and if Pausanias believed, as he apparently did, what his guides told him at Cenchreae and Hysiae, we may have excellent testimony of his gullibility, but we have no proof that he employed careful and meticulous methods of research. Modern scholars have been far too reluctant to question what he alone of all ancient authors tells us; their reluctance is understandable if inexcusable. The battle of Hysiae provides one of the few fixed dates we have for early Greek chronology, and it has been a handy device for dating Pheidon to the early seventh century where it is convenient to place him. But surely we do not have sufficient evidence to state unequivocally and categorically that Argos defeated Sparta decisively at Hysiae in 669 B. C.

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[33] On these tombs see George Mylonas, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νεκροταφείου Ἐλευσῖνος," *Praktika* (1953), pp. 77-87; Mylonas, "The Cemeteries of Eleusis and Mycenae," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, XCIX (1955), pp. 57-67; Mylonas, "Eleusis and Mycenae—New Finds," *Archaeology*, VI (1953), pp. 245-6; and especially, Charles Picard, "La nécropole archaïque d'Eleusis et le mirage des tombes dites des sept chefs," *Rev. Arch.*, XLIV (1954), pp. 90-1.

ZEUS IN AESCHYLUS.

Generation after generation of students has been asked to account for the nature of Zeus in the *Prometheus Bound,* and to compare it with Zeus in other plays of Aeschylus and particularly in the *Oresteia.* I remember having to answer the question as an undergraduate nearly fifty years ago, and I put a very similar question on an exam paper quite recently. During most of the intervening years I imagine that an undergraduate would have had little chance of satisfying his examiners if he answered that the cruel and arbitrary Olympian tyrant of the *Prometheus* was in no way surprising since Aeschylus, though a great poet, was no thinker in matters of religion and that his gods remained primitively anthropomorphic from beginning to end, arbitrary, unjust, and unreliable. Yet this is very much the position endorsed, these last few years, by both the Professors of Greek literature at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1]

The accusation of primitive anthropomorphism has, in my opinion, been sufficiently refuted by Leon Golden and Kitto.[2]

[1] See H. Lloyd-Jones, "Zeus in Aeschylus" in *J.H.S.*, LXXVI (1956), pp. 55-67, which contains a useful review of past theories and interpretations. Lloyd-Jones maintains that Aeschylus' conception of Zeus contains nothing that is new, nothing that is sophisticated, and nothing that is profound. "There is no reason to suppose the Zeus of the P. V. to be unaeschylean. . . ." He then argues that Zeus has to yield to the threat of Prometheus but this implies no change in his character. So too the Furies make a deal with Athena. See also, by the same author, "The Guilt of Agamemnon" in *C.Q.*, XII, 2 (1962), pp. 187-99.

Denys Page in his introduction to the Denniston-Page edition of the *Agamemnon* (Oxford, 1957) seems to go even further (pp. XI-XVI). "Innumerable superstitions darkened and dominated the lives of men; and in this respect Aeschylus was certainly not in advance of his time. For him, the ministers of the divine will are a diverse and jealous brood, and Zeus appears indifferent to the conflict of their claims." And again: "Aeschylus is first and foremost a great poet and a most powerful dramatist: the faculty of acute or profound thought is not among his gifts."

[2] See Leon Golden's "Zeus, whoever he is . . ." in *T.A.P.A.*, XCII (1961), 156-67; and the Chapter on Aeschylus in H. D. F. Kitto's *Poiesis* (Berkeley, 1966), pp. 33-115.

They have pointed out that anthropomorphism is inevitable on the Greek, and indeed on any, stage. Golden has pointed out, further, that there are far fewer anthropomorphic references in the plays than is alleged, especially in the *Agamemnon*, and that such as occur are most naturally interpreted as poetic metaphors. Kitto has also successfully protested against seeing in Aeschylus a great poet and dramatist who is no thinker, and against an Aeschylean world full of Demons who must be taken literally. I do not intend to go over the ground adequately covered by these two scholars, for they have, I believe, quite disproved the Lloyd-Jones/Page contention.

Lloyd-Jones maintains further that, in the *Prometheus*, Zeus yields to compulsion and that there is no trace of any true reconciliation, and also that the Furies in the *Eumenides* yield only to Athena's threat of the thunderbolts of Zeus. As Kitto has pointed out, however, the threat is quite incidental (827-8). It does not diminish the reality which the Furies represent or from the importance of a willing surrender on their part. It is hard to see why, if the threat of the thunderbolt is the only effective argument, Athena should waste her time and ours with the long final scene (780-1045) where she tries to *persuade* the Furies to yield with good grace which they finally do, and promises them continued worship.[3] To this brief mention of Zeus' thunderbolt I would apply what E. T. Owen wisely said with reference to the unsatisfactory argument used by both Apollo and Athena in the trial scene (that the father is the real parent):[4]

> It is difficult not to be stupidly literal when brought up against the details of an unfamiliar tradition. But let us remember the poet is not working out an intellectual solution to a metaphysical problem. We should not go to the poets for that kind of answer. A great poet's profound thinking is done with his imagination. Aeschylus, no doubt, is stating his faith, but he is stating it as a vision, not as a dogma; that is, he is putting it primarily before the eyes in concrete symbols, and he uses such symbols as the story he is using supplies or suggests. The acquittal of Orestes

[3] See Kitto, pp. 60-4.

[4] *The Harmony of Aeschylus* (Toronto, 1952), p. 127.

> in one of these symbols, and by what arguments it was brought about is the mere picturesque elaboration of a detail.

However, merely to prove that Lloyd-Jones and Page are mistaken does not solve the problem of Zeus in Aeschylus, and on this more positive side I do not find the solutions of Golden and Kitto convincing. Golden [5] speaks of two aspects of Zeus, almost of two gods (p. 21):

> The Zeus of the *Suppliants* is man's protector, the stern but just judge of good and evil, the guardian of the suppliant and the stranger, whereas the Zeus of the *Prometheus Bound* is a cruel tyrant, a hater of mankind who exercises his savage power without respect to justice.

Golden then mentions and rejects three previous attempts by scholars to reconcile these two different, indeed incompatible, conceptions of Zeus. The first is to say that the poet is not bound by any particular conception of Zeus who may be different from one play to the next. If this is true, then we must of course not speak of the Zeus of Aeschylus at all, or of Aeschylus' religious thought. The second attempt Golden calls the evolutionary theory, i. e. that Zeus himself changes and becomes more civilized; for this he finds no evidence. Thirdly, we may simply say that Zeus' purposes are beyond human understanding.

Finding none of these explanations satisfactory, Golden puts forward his own, which is in effect that Zeus has two aspects; there is the Zeus of the Polis, the god of justice, the good heavenly king; but there is also the Zeus of Nature who symbolizes "the uncontrolled destructive powers of the world." "Thus Aeschylus' two views of Zeus are a poetic recognition of opposed forces in the world itself." True, but this surely only restates the problem. Golden then evolves, on the basis of the *Prometheus*, a theory that, in the reconciliation to come, "Aeschylus is telling us symbolically that the wild, savage forces of nature can be made to give way to the power of civilization and that man, Prometheus' ward, the proud bearer of Prome-

[5] Leon Golden, "Zeus the Protector and Zeus the Destroyer," *C. P.*, LVII (1962), pp. 20-5. See also his *In Praise of Prometheus* (Chapel Hill, 1966), pp. 100-26.

theus' gifts, will be the agent for effecting the change." This is an attractive theory, but I can find no evidence whatever, either in the *Prometheus* or elsewhere, of this high destiny for man.[6]

Kitto,[7] on the other hand, assumes two different aspects of the *theoi* generally, or rather two different kinds of enquiry about their nature, one of which he calls the "metaphysical," with the nature of the *theoi* as the direct object of speculation, the other he calls "Hesiodic," i. e. speculation about the nature of the universe or of human experience, with the *theoi* as the resultants (pp. 68-9):

> The tragic poets, to speak generally, are much more interested in human experience than in abstract "theological" thought, but they will occasionally cross the line into the metaphysical enquiry. This, naturally, is extremely confusing. . . . That the same god, Zeus, should first lay down the law that the Doer must pay, and then, in the same trilogy, ordain that a particular Doer shall not pay; that he should first be presented as a god of sheer power, might and violence, and then as one who relies on persuasion and intelligence, these and other such contradictions, considered as parts of a metaphysical theology, would be absurd—but the absurdity is of our own invention. Aeschylus' theology is truly Hesiodic in this, that he will use the *theoi* as an explanation, or a picture, of the way this or that came into existence. In spite of which he, like Euripides, will have his metaphysical moments, as when he declares in the *Agamemnon* (1485 ff.) that nothing comes to pass among mortals apart from Zeus. . . .

This, it seems to me, is not essentially different from Golden's two aspects of Zeus, and the contradiction remains. Either the poet passes from the "Hesiodic" to the "metaphysical" unconsciously, in which case he believes himself to be talking about the same god, or he does so consciously, and in that case he might as well have spoken of two gods (or a god and a devil). In either case, if Aeschylus was the serious thinker that Kitto claims he was, the contradiction should have been obvious to him.

The emphasis on Zeus is found in all the plays of Aeschylus,

[6] This implies an identification of Prometheus with man. The myth of Prometheus does tempt one to symbolic allegory. See for example E. A. Havelock's *The Crucifixion of Intellectual Man* (Boston, 1951).

[7] Kitto (note 2), pp. 67-70.

not only in the *Prometheus* and the *Oresteia*. There are, of course, references throughout to the gods and their power (including Zeus), but where gods are named, the references to Zeus are overwhelmingly more numerous than those to all the other gods. In the *Persae*, except that Atossa prays to Earth, and the chorus appeals to Hermes, as guide of the dead, to lead Darius to appear, Zeus is the only god named. Darius believes that it is Zeus who destroyed Xerxes (740), and Zeus who had formerly bestowed honour upon Persia (762). In the only passage which may be said to reflect upon the gods' dislike of *hubris*, it is Zeus who punishes minds excessively boastful—a harsh judge (820).

The *Seven* leaves very much the same impression: the chorus do indeed call upon a number of other gods to save the city: on Athena, Poseidon, Ares, Aphrodite, Artemis, Hera, as well as Zeus πάτερ παντελές. The curse upon the house of Laius is personified, a destructive goddess "unlike the other gods" (721-4) and, since Apollo's oracle to Laius began all the trouble, Apollo is mentioned strictly in this connection (692, 745, 799). But all these mentions of gods are almost perfunctory when compared with those of Zeus. There are in this play no reflective passages as to his nature, but no other gods share the epithets of power applied to him (μεγάλε, παγκρατές, παντελές).

The *Suppliant Women* is full of Zeus, naturally enough since he is the protector of suppliants and also the chorus' ancestor through Io. Here too there are but few references to other named gods, and, of these few, several are appeals to those gods in what might be called their professional capacities: Apollo the Healer, Artemis the Helper in childbirth, Hermes the Guide, and the like. There are, however, several reflective passages on the nature of Zeus, on the obscurity of his purposes, or as the distributor of good and evil (81, 403, 524, 816-24, 1060). We may also note that, in the tale of Io, Zeus is mentioned as her healer and deliverer. Throughout these plays the divine is conceived as mainly Zeus, and the emphasis is on his supreme power.

This emphasis on the supremacy of Zeus seems to show Aeschylus feeling his way to a kind of monotheism. It is true that we find this also in Hesiod. At the same time, he is longing to believe in a just and ordered world. He is then faced with a problem which every monotheistic thinker has to face, how to

reconcile omnipotence with benevolence or at least with justice. And if we look at life steadily, with all its cruelty, injustice, and undeserved suffering, we shall not find the solution easy. We should not expect, as we too often do, the great Classical writers to solve problems unsolved to this day. One solution is to have recourse to mystery: "God moves in a mysterious way," or, as Aeschylus puts it: "The mind of Zeus is inscrutable," [8] i. e. beyond human understanding. This implies that, if we were able to understand it, we should see that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, the end result is just. This is a statement of faith, of hope, and Aeschylus makes it, as Hesiod did when he made Justice the daughter of Zeus.

At this point it may help us to understand the Greek view better if we remember certain basic features of the Olympian gods, and especially that, both in Homer and to some extent later, divine and human causation are not mutually exclusive. We find this at its simplest where Odysseus, recognized by Eurycleia, says in the *Odyssey*: "Now that you have thought of this and a god has put it into your mind," [9] where a modern reader is apt to comment: "Which do you mean? Make up your mind, it cannot be both!" And the same is true when Diomede says: "Achilles will fight again when the spirit (*thumos*) in his breast urges him to and a god arouses him." (Diomede does not say *or* but *and*.)[10] The Greek envoys appeal to Achilles to help them *because* Zeus is helping the Trojans.[11] Can one imagine a modern general asking an ally's help because God is on the side of the enemy? Divine causation is not in the epic and later a second cause or even a secondary one, it is an alternative way of describing the same event.

This is why—a thing we find it hard to keep in mind—the fact that a god causes or orders a man to do something does not in any way free that individual of responsibility for his action. Even in the *Iliad* Agamemnon, while he says he was in the grip of Ate and Zeus deprived him of his wits, does not therefore deny his responsibility for the quarrel.[12] The same

[8] E. g. *Suppliants*, 96.
[9] *Odyssey*, XIX, 485.
[10] *Iliad*, IX, 703.
[11] *Iliad*, IX, 236. Compare XI, 316-19; XVII, 626-34.
[12] *Iliad*, XIX, 86-94 and 135-6. It is true that Agamemnon does say

feeling continues in Aeschylus and all the discussions as to the guilt of Agamemnon for the Trojan war or the sacrifice of Iphigenia are beside the point. Of course he is guilty. We may argue that the choice before him was a choice of evils. Certainly, but is not life like that? And, if Zeus is in all things, he will also be in this. All we can hope is that somehow, sometime, the mysterious purposes of Zeus may turn out to be just.

And Aeschylus does give one or two indications, besides the mere statement of faith, of how this might be. It is in this context that we must understand the famous phrase "to learn by suffering." Men do often learn by suffering, and perhaps in this way the sufferings so unjustly inflicted on mankind may find justification even when (as in the *Suppliant Women*) prayers are in fact not answered, or not at once. Aeschylus saw quite clearly that the justice of Zeus is often not apparent at any particular moment, or in any particular situation, but he hoped that perhaps, if we could contemplate the fate of man over many generations as a trilogy may help us to do, we might then understand how the purposes of the Zeus of Nature and the Zeus of the Polis (as Golden calls them) might be reconciled.[13]

Not that this happens in every trilogy. The *Seven Against Thebes* is the last play of its trilogy, but here there seems to be no reconciliation, and the curse of Laius works itself out in bloody death to the end.[14] Some kind of harmony, however, does result in the *Oresteia*; also, however it was worked out, in the *Prometheia* and in the *Suppliants* trilogy as well. We now know

that he was not responsible (*οὐκ αἴτιος*) but the fact that he proposes considerable amends and his whole attitude, as well as that of others, show that he does feel responsible.

See Kitto (note 2), p. 108: "What we call, separately, 'natural' and 'divine' causes are interwoven throughout. . . ." On the whole question of continued human responsibility see also N. G. L. Hammond's "Personal Freedom and its Limitations in the *Oresteia*" in *J. H. S.*, LXXXV (1965), pp. 42-55 and A. Lesky's "Decision and Responsibility in the Tragedy of Aeschylus" in *J. H. S.*, LXXXVI (1966), pp. 78-85.

[13] This importance of time in Aeschylus' vision is much emphasized by J. H. Finley in his *Pindar and Aeschylus* (Harvard U. P., 1955), e. g. p. 183: "So with Aeschylus this long process of history attains to justice, in which shines the divine being," and *passim*.

[14] On the difference between the Theban and later trilogies in this respect see F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Ithaca, 1949), pp. 169-89.

that all three belong to the later period of Aeschylus' life. Our evidence is obviously insufficient, but it is at least possible that the problem of how to reconcile justice with omnipotence weighed heavily on Aeschylus' mind in the last period of his life.

The search for reconciliation between opposing principles inevitably involved changes in the poet's conception of his god, and since his Olympian Zeus is only that conception, this inevitably means a change in his Zeus himself. To a modern mind this would mean denying one god and worshipping a different one since God is eternal and unchanging. To the Greek mind, however, there was nothing very strange in the notion that Zeus himself could change. He was not eternal in our sense; he had been born and there were myths of his childhood; he had conquered the previous generation of gods. Moreover, as Aeschylus' younger contemporary Herodotus knew very well, the Olympians were in large part creations of the poets.[15]

It is true that the idea of the justice of Zeus was not new. We find it in Solon, in Hesiod, and even, very occasionally, in Homer.[16] It does not seem, however, that they realized the implied contradiction between justice and omnipotence, whereas Aeschylus, I believe, saw this much more clearly.[17] As he insisted more and more upon the omnipotence of Zeus, this led him, as we have seen, to his attempts to resolve it.

It would seem then that the traditional view of Aeschylus as a religious thinker is justified as is that of a development in Zeus himself.[18] Yet we must not exaggerate, and here some of

[15] Herodotus, II, 53.

[16] See, for example, the simile at *Iliad*, XVI, 384, and the beautiful personification of prayers in IX, 496-512. The justice of Zeus is of course far more prominent in Hesiod, especially in the *Works and Days*, e. g. 225-39, 248-64. For Solon see the famous elegy on wealth (fr. 13 Edmonds).

[17] As Solmsen (note 13) says (p. 133): "There is no evidence that Hesiod ever felt a clash between these two aspects" whereas "Aeschylus certainly felt very strongly the conflict between the two different conceptions of Zeus. The antimony between the just Zeus and the mighty Zeus forms the very core of his *Prometheia*."

[18] This notion of a change in Aeschylus' Zeus has been accepted by a great many scholars, and declared impossible by others. For full references on both sides of the argument see Lloyd-Jones (who, of course, rejects the idea) in *J. H. S.*, LXXVI (1956), pp. 56-7. To these

the emphases of the Lloyd-Jones/Page view may provide a useful corrective. A thinker may make his own contribution without being original at every point. Nor must we make the Zeus of Aeschylus into a Christian God. The ancients, even the philosophers, put all the emphasis on justice, and very little, if any, on mercy, benevolence, or love. Indeed it is an obstacle to understanding to think of them as trying to find their way to our own very different conceptions of the divine. It might well be that Aeschylus, had he known it, would have rejected the Christian conception of God as untrue to life. Euripides, I feel sure, would have done so. The Greek gods always to a large extent remained personifications of natural or psychological forces, often amoral, actually at work in human life and often at odds with each other. Belief in them had to remain rooted in life not as we should like it to be but as it is. This made it more difficult both to conceive of a truly supreme god, and also more difficult to reconcile this supremacy or monotheism with benevolence or even with justice.

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should be added in favour of a change in Zeus A. D. Fitton-Brown, "Prometheia" in *J. H. S.*, LXXIX (1959), pp. 52-60, and J. de Romilly, *La crainte et l'angoisse dans le théâtre d'Eschyle* (Paris, 1958), p. 106. Solmsen (note 13), pp. 45-6, and G. Thomson, in the introduction to his edition of the Prometheus (Cambridge, 1932), both suggest that the reconciliation required a change in both Zeus and Prometheus. As Thomson puts it (pp. 6-7) "The ruler of the gods is a tyrant, the champion of mankind is guilty of pride. Both are diseased." And again (p. 12) "What is less familiar to us is the doctrine, not developed in the *Oresteia*, that this same path of suffering was trod, at the beginning of the world, by Zeus himself."

THUCYDIDES' METHOD IN THE EPISODES OF PAUSANIAS AND THEMISTOCLES.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the episodes of Pausanias and Themistocles in the first book of Thucydides' *History* (I, 128, 2-138, 6) are contrasted with each other so formally and mechanically that the difficulties of chronology and authenticity of information in these episodes seem to have been caused to a great extent by Thucydides' own conscious manipulation of evidence to attain his purpose.

M. L. Lang, in her recent article [1] on the story of Pausanias [2] in Thucydides' *History*, says:

> But Thucydides has given us this account, and he is not an irresponsible or credulous historian. Moreover, his use of a story that is contrary not only to his principles (1.20.f.) but to his usual practice suggests that it came to him as a unit from an unimpeachable source; otherwise he would have excised or rationalized the mythical details and refused to tolerate the inconsistencies.

After this statement she proceeds to assume that this unimpeachable source was from the Spartans who purposely made Pausanias their scapegoat in the search for a pretext for their withdrawal from the anti-Persian activities without losing face. Then she narrates her hypothetical history of Pausanias which seems to her to lurk behind the story that Thucydides [3] tells us.

Very ingenious and even possible though her historical reconstruction of Pausanias seems to be, one cannot accept her conclusion without reservation, for she omits one important step to be taken before she proceeds to reconstruct the biographical history of Pausanias. This important step is to inquire why Thucydides did not ignore the entire story of Pausanias, if it contained so many incredible fables. Even if Miss Lang is right in saying that the entire story of Pausanias came to Thucydides from an unimpeachable source as a unit, Thucydides

[1] M. L. Lang, "Scapegoat Pausanias," *C. J.*, LXIII (1967), pp. 79-85.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] Thucydides, I, 128, 2-134, 4.

had a right to reject it. What is important here is that unless we know exactly Thucydides' reason and purpose in writing this doubtful story about Pausanias in the *History*, we have no right to discuss or reconstruct the biographical history of Pausanias. For without knowing the reason and purpose of a historian in writing a certain subject matter, one cannot know the bias that might have colored the information that the historian gives in the particular subject matter.

This particular point, to inquire into Thucydides' reason and purpose in writing the story of Pausanias, has been peculiarly neglected in spite of various efforts by many able scholars [4] to reconstruct Pausanias' biography.[5] Gomme thinks [6] that this story is quite unnecessary for Thucydides' purpose, and that it shows Thucydides' interest in biography, which does not appear in other parts of the *History*. He says: [7] "This excursus is the best example of Thucydides' interest in biography and personality, which he elsewhere kept in check." But nowhere in his Commentary does he discuss why Thucydides did not keep his biographical interest in check in this particular instance, nor does he wonder whether Thucydides had a valid purpose in writing this excursus other than his mere personal interest.

[4] C. W. Fornara, "Some Aspects of the Career of Pausanias of Sparta," *Historia*, XV (1966), pp. 257-71. M. E. White, "Some Agiad Dates: Pausanias and his Sons," *J. H. S.*, LXXXIV (1964), pp. 140-52. A. W. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, pp. 397-400 and 431-7.

[5] The reason that this problem has attracted many scholars' attention is that the ambiguous chronology between 477 and 432 could become more or less accurate if we could only fix the date of Themistocles' flight to Persia. And the date of his flight can be determined if we can only fix the date of Pausanias' death.

[6] *Op. cit.*, I, pp. 26-7: "He clearly had a liking for biography, a keen sense of personality, as is shown by his account of Perikles, Nikias, Kleon, Alkibiades, and Brasidas, and above all by his long, and for his purpose quite unnecessary, excursus on Pausanias and Themistocles; where he goes out of his way to describe the fortunes and characters of the two men who λαμπρότατοι ἐγένοντο τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων. But except for this he excludes all biographical detail from his narrative—not because he thought individuals had little effect on events—he emphasizes the importance of Perikles, Brasidas, and Alkibiades—, but partly because the detail is untrustworthy chiefly because it is trivial: attractive, but in itself unimportant in the midst of great political events."

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 431.

There have been, however, four scholars, to my knowledge, who discussed Thucydides' purpose in writing the excursus on the fate of Pausanias. The first one is J. H. Finley in his *Thucydides*.[8] There he says:

> Thucydides here digresses again to explain these charges and, after describing the career of Pausanias, goes on to contrast it with that of Themistocles. His account serves to amplify what he had said at the start of the Pentecontaetia about the rise of Athens, to which both men had contributed, the Spartan by an arrogance which alienated Greek sympathy, the Athenian positively by his genius in founding the navy. The pointed comparison that Thucydides draws here suggests that he regarded the two men to some extent as exemplars, *παραδείγματα*, of their respective states.

Brief though his account of the excursus is, still his observation clarifies the fact at least that Thucydides seems to have had a serious reason and purpose in writing the excursus rather than mere personal interest. According to Finley, if I understand correctly, Thucydides wrote this excursus to make a clear contrast of Pausanias and Themistocles in order to explain the difference of national character between Athens and Sparta which contributed to the growth of the Athenian Empire during the Fifty Years.

This observation seems to be true and right but it is inadequate, for it does not explain to us why Thucydides had to use such doubtful anecdotes[9] as these in this particular place. If he had really wanted to reveal the contrast of the nature of Athens and Sparta during the Fifty Years, he could have easily written more credible stories about them in a chronologically more pertinent place. In other words, Finley does not answer the question why in this particular place with these particular stories Thucydides had to show the contrasting character of Athens and Sparta which helped the growth of the Athenian Empire.

[8] J. H. Finley, *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 139.

[9] The facts that make it difficult for one to believe Thucydides' story about Pausanias and Themistocles are enumerated in Lang's article (*loc. cit.*, pp. 79-81) and in R. Lenardon's article "The Chronology of Themistocles; Ostracism and Exile," *Historia*, VIII (1954), pp. 23-48.

The second scholar who has thought about the purpose of the Pausanian excursus is D. Stewart.[10] His conclusion seems to be that the excursus of Pausanias is written for the purpose of making a contrast with Alcibiades. Stewart's argument is rather weak because the contrast that he can point out between Pausanias and Alcibiades is in their careers and historical circumstances and not in Thucydides' literary devices by which both would be explicitly contrasted.[11] First of all the contrast of Pausanias and Alcibiades is not striking, for, while Pausanias has an independent biographical episode which is specially set apart from the context, Alcibiades does not have one. Secondly, one finds no verbal echoes between Pausanias' story and Alcibiades' story. From other parts of the *History*, one can confirm that whenever Thucydides wants to express a contrast of two objects his usual custom is to insert certain verbal echoes to ensure that the effect of the intended contrast will clearly emerge.[12] Thus, alleged contrast between Pausanias and Alcibiades seems to be a result of a pure accident caused by the actual historical careers of two men, and not intended by Thucydides. Above all, even if Stewart's proposition may explain why Thucydides employed the particular story of Pausanias, it does not solve the problem of why Thucydides put it at this particular place.

[10] D. Stewart, "Thucydides, Pausanias, and Alcibiades," *C.J.*, LXI (1966), pp. 145-52.

[11] This idea is not new, for Schwartz (*Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* [Bonn, 1st ed., 1919; 2nd ed., 1929; Rpt., 1960], p. 161) once put forward this argument which was later rejected by Lippold ("Pausanias von Sparta und die Perser," *Rh.M.*, n.s. CVIII [1965], p. 337). Lippold says: "Man sollte jedoch, ungeachtet der auffälligen Parallelen in den Schicksalen eines Themistokles und Pausanias einerseits, eines Alkibiades und Lysander andererseits, nicht so weit gehen wie z. B. Ed. Schwartz, der in den Exkursen über Pausanias und Themistokles direkte historische Gegenbilder zu den Berichten über Alkibiades und Lysander sah."

[12] To mention a few examples:
I, 140, 1: *τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχομαι* and III, 38, 1: *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι τῇ γνώμῃ.* I, 121, 4: *μιᾷ τε νίκῃ ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἁλίσκονται·* and I, 141, 5-6: *ἄλλως τε κἂν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός, ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ μιᾷ πρὸς ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν.* III, 75, 4: *Νικόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο* and III, 28, 2: *Πάχης δ' ἀναστήσας αὐτοὺς ὥστε μὴ ἀδικῆσαι, ...*

The third scholar who gave serious attention to Thucydides' purpose in writing these episodes is Eduard Schwartz,[13] who thinks that Thucydides wrote these episodes to show the basic difference of character between Athens and Sparta.

> Der fundamentale Gegensatz zwischen Athen und Sparta, der die gesamte Retraktation der ersten beiden Bücher beherrscht, ist auf das Schicksal zweier Individuen übertragen, die beide von dem staatlichen Ganzen, das sie einst führten, abgelöst, sich mit dem hellenischen Erbfeind, den sie selbst besiegt haben, einlassen und nun, als auf sich gestellte Einzelpersönlichkeiten, zeigen was sie von Spartaner- oder Athenertum noch bewahren.

And he also thinks that these episodes were put in to give his readers a sense of unity by demonstrating the ends of Themistocles and Pausanias since he had already treated their earlier episodes in the Pentecontaetia.[14]

> Im Gegenteil, der Eifer, mit dem die Spartaner den Mann verfolgen, der sie überlistet hat, und der Undank, den die Athener dem erweisen, dem die Stadt ihren notwendigsten Schutz dankt, tritt erst dann grell heraus, wenn die spätere Episode mit der früheren zusammengeschlossen wird.

Schwartz is right, I think, in saying that the episodes of Themistocles and Pausanias are contrasted, but it seems rather forced to say that the later episodes of Themistocles and Pausanias were put in to make a unity with those in the Pentacontaetia. For this view cannot answer again why Thucydides had to put these later episodes in the particular place which is not only chronologically but also structurally totally out of its context. And above all, Schwartz, being interested in the problem of the chronology of Thucydides' composition, does not inquire what kind of historiographical method Thucydides would have had to employ to produce this effect of contrast in these two episodes.

This problem is also ignored by the fourth scholar, Adolf Lippold,[15] who considered the purpose of Thucydides in writing

[13] E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[15] A. Lippold, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-41.

these two episodes although he realized implicitly a closely parallel structure in these two episodes.[16]

> Ebenfalls auf bewusste Tendenz bei Thukydides verweisend ist, dass man in seiner dem sachlichen Zusammenhang nach recht willkurlich eingefügten Idealisierung des Themistokles, aber auch in seiner für Pausanias ungünstigen Charakteristik einen Beitrag zu der um 430 geführten Auseinandersetzung um die Führergestalten der Perserkriegszeit sehen kann.

Lippold, again, just as the preceding three scholars, does not ask either why these episodes had to be in this particular place or why Thucydides had to adopt so many doubtful stories in these episodes.

Thus it seems still necessary to ask again why Thucydides wrote these dubious stories in this particular place. What was the purpose in writing these stories? What was the reason that he wrote such doubtful anecdotes about Pausanias and Themistocles? To answer this question, one must first have a closer look at the episode of Pausanias.

128, 1-2.

This is a section which provides an opportunity for Thucydides to write about Pausanias. Thucydides says that the Athenians, as a retort to the Lacedaemonians' demand to purify Cylon's curse, bade them purify their own two curses, one caused by the Helots at Tainaros, and the other by Pausanias. Having briefly explained the first incident, Thucydides now proceeds to detail the episode of Pausanias.[17]

128, 3-6: (a) Pausanias' travel
(b) Pausanias' Medism
(c) Pausanias' favour to the King.

Thucydides explains where Pausanias travelled to and what his purpose was and how he tried to achieve his purpose. Thucydides says that after the first recall Pausanias went to Byzantium privately to medise, and there he secretly sent back the Persian prisoners to gain favour with the King.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

[17] 128, 2: *ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε.*

128, 7: Pausanias' letter to Xerxes.

Then Thucydides describes the contents of the letter that Pausanias sent to Xerxes. In this letter Pausanias makes two offers and three demands. The two offers are: to return the Persian captives to Xerxes, and to promise Xerxes supremacy over Greece in the future. The three demands are: Xerxes' daughter's hand; Xerxes' help; and the dispatch of Xerxes' confidential messenger by whom Pausanias might correspond with Xerxes in the future.

129, 1-3: Xerxes' reaction to Pausanias' letter.

In this section Thucydides shows how Xerxes reacted to Pausanias' letter. Xerxes' action was twofold. First he discharged Megabatos, the former satrap at Dasculites, and appointed Artabazos to the post; then he wrote a letter to Pausanias. The contents of the letter are also twofold. First, Xerxes thanks him for having given the prisoners back, and secondly, Xerxes tells Pausanias to do whatever Artabazos and he agree on.

130, 1-2: Pausanias' manner of Medism.

Here Thucydides describes Pausanias' behaviour after he had medised. Thucydides observes his Medism from two aspects: one from an overt aspect and the other from a covert aspect. In the overt aspect, Thucydides writes about the Persian entourage and food that Pausanias had adopted; and in the covert aspect he writes about Pausanias' hidden intention which was revealed through his careless daily behaviour, and his irascible manner of life by which he alienated others.

131, 1-132, 4: The manner in which Pausanias was received by the Spartans.

Here Thucydides describes in what manner Pausanias was received by the Spartans. Thucydides characterizes the nature of the Spartan reception of Pausanias in two terms: one suspicion, the other tardiness. Thucydides says that the Spartans raised their suspicion against Pausanias from an overt aspect and covert aspect. In the overt aspect, Pausanias lived like a Persian monarch and seemed to have abandoned the Spartan manner of living. And in the covert aspect he seemed to have

a hidden desire which could be sensed through the inscription on the tripod which was dedicated at Delphi and the rumour that he had instigated the Helots to revolt.

In spite of their suspicion, roused by obvious evidence, says Thucydides, the Spartans would not take a decisive step toward Pausanias for an unduly long time because of an overt reason and a covert reason. The overt reason to which Thucydides alludes was that the Spartans were easily bribed by Pausanias,[18] and the covert reason was their custom not to come to a hasty decision about the fate of a Spartan.

132, 5-134, 3: (a) The cause which led Pausanias to such a miserable death
(b) The manner of Pausanias' death.

In 132, 5-133, 1 Thucydides tells us the cause which led Pausanias into such an ignominious death, and in 134, 1-3 he reports that Pausanias was starved to death.

134, 4: (a) Pausanias' situation immediately after his death
(b) The later situation of his burial.

Pausanias' body was about to be cast away as a criminal's but was buried where he died. Later, however, his grave was removed according to the command of Apollo, and the Spartans had to make two statues because of Pausanias' pollution.

This is a rough outline of Pausanias' story as given by Thucydides between chapters 128 and 134. The important impression one would get from this outline is Thucydides' formalism which prevails throughout the episode. The question now has to be asked whether this formalism was intentional or inherent in the source of information. To approach this problem it would be advisable to examine Themistocles' episode which directly follows after Pausanias' episode. For it is at least certain that Thucydides thought that these two figures made a good contrast.[19] The episode of Themistocles begins at 135, 2.

[18] 131, 2: *ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὕποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι παλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην.*

[19] 138, 6: *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως τελεύτησεν.*

135, 2-3: Introduction.

In this introductory part Thucydides explains the cause of the Athenian pursuit of Themistocles.

136, 1-137, 3: (a) Themistocles' travels
(b) Themistocles' Medism
(c) Themistocles' favour to his helpers.

Here Thucydides writes how Themistocles was forced to flee from Greece to Persia,[20] and how he secured the people's help by giving them favour in various forms during his travels.[21]

137, 4: Themistocles' letter.

Themistocles' letter mentions what good he did for Xerxes when Xerxes had to retreat from Greece and that because of Themistocles' good will toward the Persians he was being pursued by the Greeks, and at the end of the letter Themistocles promises to appear before Artaxerxes in the time of one year to render him a good service.

138, 1: Artaxerxes' reaction to Themistocles' letter.

The reaction of Artaxerxes to Themistocles was a simple admiration of Themistocles' wisdom and Artaxerxes acknowledged his promise without any condition.[22]

138, 1: Themistocles' manner of Medism.

Thucydides looks at Themistocles' manner of Medism from an overt aspect and from a covert aspect. In the overt aspect, Thucydides says that Themistocles studied the custom of the country[23] and in the covert aspect he studied the Persian language.[24]

138, 2: The manner in which Themistocles was received by the Persians.

Here Thucydides writes that Themistocles was greatly wel-

[20] 137, 1: ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλόμενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι κτλ.

[21] 136, 1: ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. 137, 1: καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο. 137, 3: καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει.

[22] 138, 1: βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται, ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν οὕτως.

[23] 138, 1: κατενόησε καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας·

[24] 138, 1: ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ἐπέσχε τῆς τε Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἐδύνατο.

comed by the Persians because of their hope to conquer Greece and moreover because of Themistocles' own wisdom.

138, 3-4: (a) The cause which led Themistocles to such a successful life
(b) The manner of Themistocles' death.

In 138, 3 Thucydides tells us the cause which led Themistocles into such a successful and glorious life, i. e. his sagacity and foresight, and in 138, 4 Thucydides reports that although there is a rumour that he killed himself because he could not attain what he had promised Artaxerxes, he actually died a natural death.

138, 5-6: (a) Themistocles' situation at the time of his death
(b) Later situation about his burial.

Themistocles' body was buried in Magnesia, a part of his domain which was given to him by Artaxerxes, but later, says Thucydides, according to his own will his grave was secretly removed by the hands of his relatives to his homeland.

Thus having gone through Themistocles' episode, one now should compare the outline of Pausanias' episode with that of Themistocles.

Pausanias	Themistocles
A. 128, 1-2	A'. 135, 2-3
Introduction	Introduction
B. 128, 3-6	B'. 136, 1-137, 3
(a) His travel	(a) His travel
(b) His Medism	(b) His Medism
(c) His favour to the King	(c) His favour to his helpers
C. 128, 7	C'. 137, 4
His letter to Xerxes	His letter to Artaxerxes
D. 129, 1	D'. 138, 1
Reaction to the letter	Reaction to the letter
E. 130, 1-2	E'. 138, 1
His manner of Medism	His manner of Medism
F. 131, 1-132, 4	F'. 138, 2
The Spartan reception of Pausanias	The Persian reception of Themistocles
G. 132, 5-134, 3	G'. 138, 3-4
(a) The cause of his miserable death	(a) The cause of his successful life
(b) The manner of his death	(b) The manner of his death

H. 134, 4	H′. 138, 5-6
(a) Situation at the time of his death	(a) Situation at the time of his death
(b) Later situation about his grave	(b) Later situation about his grave

Even a cursory glance over this outline would make it hard to maintain that this structural parallelism had occurred accidentally. If the forms of the two episodes were consciously built to produce the effect of parallelism, one then must also look for the parallel thought between them.

A and A′ (128, 1-2 and 135, 2-3).

Both sections link what precedes with what is coming. A functions to introduce the episode of Pausanias as an explanation of the Athenian demand to purify the Spartan curse. A′ introduces the episode of Themistocles as the consequence of the episode of Pausanias. By contrasting A and A′, one can observe that because of Pausanias' wicked behavior Themistocles as well as the Spartans found themselves in trouble. Because of Pausanias, the Spartans were rebutted by the Athenians more than thirty years after his death, and because of Pausanias Themistocles had to be pursued by the Greeks and had to be a traitor to his own country.

B and B′ (128, 3-6 and 136, 1-137, 3).

a and a′: b and b′: Their travels to Asia Minor and their Medism. The basic difference between a and a′ is that Pausanias' travel was a voluntary one caused by his own ambition while Themistocles' travel was one forced by his circumstance.[25] In other words, according to Thucydides, Pausanias' Medism was a planned scheme from the outset, while Themistocles' Medism was not a premeditated scheme.[26] By describing Themistocles' long wandering flight, Thucydides seems to have intended to describe Themistocles' unwillingness to go over to Persia, and

[25] 128, 3: *ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς.* 136, 1: *ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, κτλ.*

[26] Lippold also thinks that Thucydides intended this contrast. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 333.

by writing a short straight travel of Pausanias to Byzantium, Thucydides seems to have wanted to suggest Pausanias' willingness to medize.

c and c′. Pausanias curried Xerxes' favour by sending the Persian prisoners back without his Greek allies' consent to acquire a supporter for his own private enterprise. But Themistocles, to acquire supporters even to save his own life, did not perform any trickery. The Corcyreans helped him because he had formerly been their benefactor.[27] Admetus protected him because of his eloquence and his humble manner of supplication.[28] The captain of a ship sent Themistocles safely to Ephesus because of Themistocles' eloquence and promise of reward, a promise that he kept honestly.[29] And above all he never sought the Persian king's favour.[30] Thucydides says explicitly that Themistocles falsely and cleverly claimed in his letter services to the Persians which he had never done.[31]

C and C′ (128, 7 and 137, 4).

Pausanias' letter contains two *εὐεργεσίαι* and three demands which have been pointed out above, while Themistocles' letter contains neither demand nor *εὐεργεσία*. Thucydides deliberately denies Themistocles' claim that he prevented the bridge over the Hellespont from being cut. The only thing that Themistocles asked for was that Artaxerxes await his arrival for a year. The contrast is striking. Pausanias, intending to hand over Greece

[27] Compare: *εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο* (128, 4) and *ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθόμενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς Κέρκυραν, ὧν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης* (136, 1).

[28] 137, 1: *ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ υἱέος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἱκέτευμα τοῦτο, ...*

[29] 137, 2-3: *πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν . . . καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει.*

[30] Lippold (*op. cit.*, p. 333) also sees this point: "Der ganze Bericht über die letzten Schicksale des Themistokles, vor allem über seine Flucht, ist getragen von höchstem Mitgefühl." His observation is right, I think, but Thucydides' interest was in how skilfully Themistocles elicited their sympathy and not what kind of sympathy he got or from whom.

[31] 137, 4: *καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράψας τήν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), ...*

to Xerxes, wants Xerxes' daughter, his aid, and a liaison officer, and has no intention to come to see Xerxes in person. Themistocles, on the other hand, giving nothing substantial to Artaxerxes, wanted nothing, but has the intention to come to see Artaxerxes in person.

D and D′ (129, 1 and 138, 1).

Xerxes' reaction to Pausanias' letter shows that Pausanias' service was gladly accepted but his demands were silently ignored. Xerxes does not mention the hand of his daughter, nor the specific help that he might offer to Pausanias, nor a liaison officer through whom Pausanias might freely communicate with Xerxes, but Xerxes, after having discharged the former satrap who had given a free hand to Pausanias, sent a new satrap so that without this new satrap's consent Pausanias could not make any new move.

Artaxerxes' reaction to Themistocles was, on the other hand, singularly sincere. The king was very impressed with Themistocles' wisdom and decreed that he might do whatever he wanted. Thus the reactions of two kings to the letters of Themistocles and Pausanias show the fact that Pausanias' letter was a total failure while that of Themistocles was a singular success.

E and E′ (130, 1-2 and 138, 1).

Pausanias, in spite of the failure of his letter, was completely elated when he received Xerxes' reply. But Thucydides does not say whether Themistocles was pleased or disappointed when he heard of Artaxerxes' reaction to his letter. The way in which Thucydides describes how both men medised is also very revealing. In the overt sphere, Pausanias adopted Persian food and oriental entourage, while Themistocles studied the custom of the country. In the covert sphere, Pausanias' hidden desire for power grew stronger, and he became more irascible, while Themistocles learned the Persian tongue as much as he could.

F and F′ (131, 1-132, 4 and 138, 2).

At Sparta Pausanias was met with Spartan suspicion and tardiness in decision.[32] This situation is contrasted with that of

[32] Thucydides' comment on the Spartans' slowness in decision has been generally taken as Thucydides' praise of the Spartans' prudent and

Themistocles in Persia. There Themistocles was met with the Persians' hope and their admiration for his wisdom. The Spartans' suspicion is contrasted with the Persians' hope and Themistocles' wisdom is contrasted with the Spartan slow-wittedness.

G and G′ (132, 5-134, 3).

Pausanias misjudged everything: the extent of his own capacity, the intention of the king, the fidelity of his servant, the situation in which he was put, and he did not realize the whole situation until the last moment.[33] But Themistocles could judge rightly even what he was quite ignorant about, and he could see and grasp the whole situation instantly. The fact that Pausanias was bad at judging and slow in comprehension and Themistocles was excellent at deciding and quick in comprehension made the former die miserably and the latter live successfully until the day of his natural death.

H and H′ (134, 4-138, 5-6).

Pausanias' body was to be cast out as a criminal's, while Themistocles' body was buried in his own domain. Later Pausanias' grave had to be removed by the order of Apollo, but Themistocles' grave was moved to his native land according to his own will.[34] And furthermore the Spartans had to dedicate two statues later to expiate Pausanias' pollution.

cautious manner of action. But this is not so. For Thucydides always admires and values highly a man who can grasp situations at once and take the right action in the shortest possible time, as we can easily judge from his praise for Themistocles (cf. *τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής·* 138, 3). Above all, Thucydides thinks that the Spartans were stupid since they could not make up their minds on such a clear crime for a long time, and at the end after such an incredibly childish transaction (i. e. the Ephors' overhearing of Pausanias' words over a wall) they suddenly decided to kill him without any proper legal procedure.

[33] Pausanias was so slow in comprehending situations that he could not realize the approach of his end until he was directly informed by one of the ephoroi: *λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἑνὸς μὲν τῶν ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε* (134, 1).

[34] 134, 4: *ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε.* 138, 6: *τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασὶ κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύσαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ·*

One of the most striking facts which emerge out of the present observations is that in these two episodes nothing good about Pausanias is told, and nothing bad about Themistocles is written. It seems that Thucydides intended to paint Pausanias as villainous as possible, and Themistocles as wise as possible. The picture of two men which appears in these two episodes is so one-sided and the manner of Thucydides' exposition is so rigidly formal in thought and structure that one cannot but presume that a great amount of artificial manipulation of historical evidence on Thucydides' part must have taken place before the final result was produced.

It is simply impossible to think that Thucydides did not know the good reputation which Herodotus gives Pausanias [35] and the bad reputation of Themistocles which is very substantially established in other traditions. Gomme says (*Commentary*, I, p. 444):

> Equally Thucydides omits all reference to Themistocles' moral character—his doubtful patriotism and his weakness in money matters: not because he has already related his flight to Persia and his acceptance of a princely income from the king, nor because he was indifferent; but partly no doubt because he ignored anecdotes of doubtful truth (unlike Herodotos), mainly because it was not relevant to his present purpose. This purpose was but to emphasize one important feature in Themistocles' character, which would be overlooked by those who had only read Herodotos, one in which he was unrivalled, if not unique.

According to Gomme, then, Thucydides ignored traditions about Themistocles' bad traits because they are the anecdotes of doubtful truth and because he wanted to rectify the biased opinion of Themistocles derived from Herodotus. But are not the anecdotes that Thucydides himself tells us of doubtful

[35] Gomme says (*Commentary*, I, p. 437): "Herodotus gives a consistently favourable picture of Pausanias after Plataea (ix. 78-82), and only a hint elsewhere of his ὕβρις (v. 32, vii. 3. 2)." But when Thucydides refers to Pausanias' success at Plataea, he uses it as a cause of Pausanias' over-estimation of himself: ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιάσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν (130, 1); καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε (132, 2).

truth? Does it make sense to produce another one-sided picture to kill a former bias? In any case, the fact remains that Thucydides did write here only bad things about Pausanias and only good things about Themistocles. Pausanias' successful earlier life is completely ignored, and Themistocles' reputation as traitor, liar, trickster, corruptible man, etc., is totally obliterated.

Having seen Thucydides' artificial manipulation to create the glaring contrast of a bad Spartan and a good Athenian in these two episodes, we now seem to be on fairly firm ground to surmise what went on before Thucydides actually produced the final result.

(1) It seems possible to say that Thucydides picked up only the pieces of information which would indicate (or could be used to indicate) Pausanias' stupidity and villainy and Themistocles' sagacity and uprightness.[36] That is to say, Thucydides seems to have thrown out all the information about them which would suggest the contrary to how he wanted to show them.

(2) Thucydides disregarded all the information of the one which would not make a good contrast with the other.

(3) Thucydides ignored all the information which did not fall under the eight categories as classified above (i. e. A to H and A′ to H′).

(4) Since Thucydides badly needed any information which would show either Pausanias to be bad or Themistocles to be good and which would make a good contrast with the information about the other and which would fall under any one of the eight headings, he seems to have used any evidence, no matter how slight and doubtful it was, if it satisfied his conditions.[37]

[36] I quite agree with Lippold (*op. cit.*, p. 335): "Es musste besonders wirkungsvoll erscheinen, wenn man zugleich die moralische Überlegenheit des athenischen Staatsmannes über den spartanischen Feldherrn vor Augen führte." Therefore I think these episodes were written before Spartan superiority was demonstrated in the Peloponnesian War. Lippold also says (*ibid.*, p. 336): "Die von mir bisher zur Tendenzhaftigkeit der Pausanias/Themistokles-Exkurse des Thukydides erwähnten Momente lassen sich zunächst scheinbar durchaus mit der Ansicht vereinbaren, dass die Exkurse bereits um 430 oder etwa zwischen 421 und 415 niedergeschrieben worden seien."

[37] Having put so many accounts of doubtful truth in his writing, Thucydides seems to have had a guilty feeling. He makes many quali-

(5) Thucydides then must have shuffled and arranged all the pieces of evidence that he liked in the order of the eight headings which were made according to his own logical nexus and thereby ignored the chronological order which was inherent in the evidence.

Thus Thucydides' manner of collection, selection, and arrangement of evidence in these episodes is solely intended to produce the clear-cut contrast of a stupid Spartan and a wise and respectable Athenian, and the consideration of the historical authenticity and chronological order of the evidence was mercilessly sacrificed to this purpose. Why was he so eager to have this contrast? This is the sort of question which would require another independent paper as long as the present one, but if one has to venture a short answer, one would have to say that Thucydides wanted to have the contrast of a reasonable[38] Athenian hero (i. e. Themistocles) and an emotional (or irrational) Spartan hero (i. e. Pausanias) before he came to write about an ideal hero, namely Pericles.[39] This triple structure was needed because Thucydides seems to have constructed the entire first book of his *History* under the concept of tripartite structure. That is to say, throughout the first book, he consistently employed a structure which consisted of a pair of two episodes (A, B) contrasted with one episode (C).[40]

fications in his remarks to evade his responsibility, e. g.: 128, 6 *ὡς ὕστερον ἀνηυρέθη*; 132, 5 *ὡς λέγεται*; 134, 1 *λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν*; 138, 1 *ὡς λέγεται*; 138, 4 *λέγουσι δέ*; 138, 6 *τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασί*.

[38] By "reasonable" I mean "vernünftig" in German

[39] The contrast between Pericles on the one hand and Pausanias and Themistocles on the other hand is clearly conceived and expressed by Thucydides: *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν* (I, 138, 6) and *καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρῆνει τοιάδε* (I, 139, 4).

[40] Though this problem must be dealt with in another paper, I will briefly give here the summary of this argument. The first book of the *History* consists of the following eight episodes:

i.	The Archaeologia	1-23
ii.	The Corcyrean Dispute	24-54
iii.	The Potidean Incident	55-65
iv.	The Spartan Assembly	66-88
v.	The Pentecontaetia	89-118

This structural theory seems to have compelled Thucydides to write them in this manner.

Now it seems at least clear that Thucydides did not write the episodes of Pausanias and Themistocles out of his biographical interest as Gomme claimed,[41] nor did Thucydides write such inaccurate accounts about them because he got the information as a unit from an unimpeachable source as Miss Lang assumed. This conclusion seems to be a strong blow against those of us who want to reconstruct the historical truth about Themistocles and Pausanias through Thucydides' description, for such an attempt might now seem to be a futile desire, somewhat similar to an attempt to seek the flavour of beef by chewing leather.[42]

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vi.	The Peloponnesian Assembly	119-25
vii.	Pausanias and Themistocles	126-39
viii.	The First Periclean Speech	140-6

If we omit the Archaeologia, being the introduction not only to the first book but to the entire *History*, as well as the Pentecontaetia, labelled as a digression by Thucydides himself, we are left with six episodes: two (ii and iii) related to Athenian affairs, two (iv and vi) related to the Spartan affairs, and two (vii and viii) related to the leaders of both sides. Here one can see that a pair of ii and iii and iv and vi is contrasted with the vii and viii. Furthermore ii and iii itself is made up of a pair of two speeches which is contrasted with one episode. iv and vi are also constructed with a pair of two speeches contrasted with one speech. (The first Athenian speech is ignored, because this speech has been generally considered as a later insertion, and Sthenelaidas' exhortation is omitted because it does not have the proper form of a speech.) Thus one can say that the structure of vii and viii results from conforming with the forms of other parts of the *History*'s first book. For further details on the argument see H. Konishi, "Two Observations on Thucydides" *J. C. S.*, XIV (1966), pp. 77-85.

[41] Cf. Gomme, *Commentary*, I, pp. 26-8, 431, 447.

[42] I should like to express my thanks to Professor Frank W. Walbank of the University of Liverpool and to Professor Michael H. Jameson of the University of Pennsylvania for reading my typescript and correcting my mistakes. I am also indebted to Dr. Leonard C. Smith, my colleague, in the various stages of this paper and to Mr. C. Gordon-Craig, a graduate student, who read the proof.

TWO GREEK PRESENTS: *ἐπιβάσκω, πέρνημι.*[1]

It is our privilege that in any consideration of Greek linguistic development we can operate within a much wider scheme, which enables us to penetrate and explore much deeper than would otherwise be possible. But whether the operation is in the wide field of Indo-European philology or confined within the borders of ancient Greek linguistics, we are constantly face to face with those elements of language labelled 'innovations,' 'irregularities,' or 'aberrations,' which more than anything else have always been and will continue to be the fascination of scholars whose keen interest lies in discovering the cause of divergence from the 'straight' path.

This article examines two Greek present forms which exhibit some clear Indo-European character, but which are found to have suffered a curious transformation and thus posed a morphological or semantic problem.

1. *ἐπιβάσκω* in *ἐπιβασκέμεν* (Hom. *Il.*, II, 234)

The Greek verbal suffix *-σκω* was inherited from Indo-European, and we may here touch briefly its fortunes in Greek. The rule seems to have been, originally, a nil-grade in the root, a state of affairs evidenced by some forms attested since Homer. Later in Greek, however, forms are by various processes developed, which do not always appear to conform to this norm. Also in Greek, two types of present *-σκω* formations are found: unreduplicated and reduplicated. Examples are (of unreduplicated forms) *βάσκω* (< *$*g^{w}m̥$-sk̂^{e}/o-*, cf. Skt. *gácchati*, beside the full-grade Goth. pres. *qiman* < *$*g^{w}em$-), *μίσγω* (< *$*μιγ$-σκω, cf. Lat. *misceō*), *πάσχω* (< *$*π$ṇ$θ$-σκω$, cf. *πένθος ἔπαθον*), *θνήσκω*, *γηράσκω*, *μεθύσκω*, *εὑρίσκω*; (of reduplicated forms) *γιγνώσκω*, *μιμνήσκω*, *διδάσκω*, *κικλήσκω*, *τιτύσκομαι*, *πιφαύσκω*, *τιτρώσκω*.

The formation of this latter type (the reduplicated type) demands some explanation; for whereas the unreduplicated type is well matched by formations outside Greek (with the cognates

[1] Touched upon incidentally in my Ph. D. thesis, "A Study in the Changes in the Greek Present Formations," University of London, 1966.

already mentioned above, cf. further Lat. *poscō*, Skt. *pṛcchắti*, Av. *pərəsaiti*, etc. < **pṛ̂k-sk̂ᵉ/o-*),[2] the reduplicated type (*γιγνώσκω* v. Epir. *γνώσκω* Lat. *(g)nōscō*[3] < **gnō-sk̂ᵉ/o-*), remarkable in that it exhibits two formative principles, reduplication and *-σκ-*, does not appear to be represented in the related languages with the exception of Hittite where the evidence points to a secondary development.[4] It seems, therefore, that this type, in spite of the old age in Greek of forms like *διδάσκω μιμνήσκω*, is a Greek innovation.[5] Most likely this type has spread from some example of conflation of two normal types, *γιγνώσκω* possibly from **γίγνωμι* x **γνώσκω*.[6]

The aspect of the verbal formant *-sk̂ᵉ/o-* might have been originally punctual.[7] Porzig (*I. F.*, XLV [1927], pp. 154 ff.), deliberately avoiding, by reason of its many-sided signification, the term 'iterative' (p. 159 with n. 1) remarked: "das verbale sko- Formans meint Handlungen oder Vorgänge als sich ruckweise in einzelnen Absätzen vollziehende." A most eloquent witness to these features is usually found in Gk. *βάσκω*, Skt. *gácchati* (beside *gámati*), Av. *jasaiti* (beside *jamaiti*) < **gʷm̥-sk̂ᵉ/o-*: the *-sk̂ᵉ/o-* formation denotes "ein Gehen, das in

[2] See Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II, 3, pp. 352 ff.

[3] Prof. Palmer (*The Latin Language* [London, 1961], p. 267) thinks that Lat. *gnōscō* may derive from a reduplicated form, but such a form as **gignōscō*, had it once existed in Latin, would have had a very good chance of surviving. Cf. further OPers. subj. *xšnāsātiy* 'noscat.'

[4] Cf. Hitt. *katkattišk- lilišk- memišk-*, etc. On the Hittite situation, see van Brock, *Les thèmes verbaux à redoublement du hittite et le verbe indo-européen*, *R. H. A.*, XXII, fasc. 75 (1964), pp. 119 ff., especially pp. 144 ff., 151 f. Lat. *discō*, usually derived from **di-dc-scō* et sim. (root **dek̂-*, cf. decet docēō, see especially Thurneysen, *I. F.*, XXXIX, [1921], p. 199) is most probably not related to Gk. *διδάσκω* (root **dens-/*dn̥s-*, cf. *δήνεα δαῆναι*, see Debrunner, *Mélanges Boisacq*, I [1937], pp. 251 ff.; cf. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.*, p. 305). The *-sco* element of the Latin form is possibly a secondary accretion which does not go beyond the history of Latin linguistic development (Thurneysen, *ibid.*). The rival reconstruction **δι-δακ-σκω* > *διδάσκω* (see literature in Debrunner, *ibid.*) arose principally from an attempt to reconcile both the Greek and the Latin forms. On the assumed close relation of the two forms, see still Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym. lang. lat.*,⁴ *s.v. discō*.

[5] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II, 3, 360 f.; Thurneysen, *loc. cit.*

[6] Cf. Leumann, *Lat. Gramm.*, I, p. 314.

[7] See Delbrück, *Vergl. Synt.*, II, pp. 59 ff. Cf. Meillet, *M. S. L.*, XI (1900), pp. 311 ff.

einzelnen Absätzen erfolgt" against the simple thematic formation which signifies "das Gehen als ein Ankommen an einem Ziele" (Porzig, *loc. cit.*, p. 155).

The development of the reduplicated type which, as has been observed above, is specifically Greek and is paralleled in Hittite has been presumably favoured by the closeness in function of the formative element *-sk-* and reduplication. An originally iterative(-intensive) function is quite conceivable for the reduplicated present formation [8] which, in effect, would represent a morphological expression of repeated or recurrent actions. However, on the general evidence of the Indo-European languages, the *-sk̂ᵉ/o-* formation has known various fortunes functionally—iterative, intensive, inchoative, all of which are represented in Greek.

Now we may turn our attention to the *βάσκω* group in Greek. The infinitive of a compounded form *ἐπιβασκέμεν* occurs in Homer, *Il.*, II, 234 (. . . *οὐ μὲν ἔοικεν/ ἀρχὸν ἐόντα κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν*, "it does not befit one as a captain to make the sons of the Achaeans come to ill"). In this form Wackernagel [9] wants to see a dissimilation from a reduplicated form **ἐπι-βιβασκέμεν* (**ἐπ-ιβ-ιβασκ-*), and this view seems to have won some acceptance.[10] But one would like to ask: What is Wackernagel's difficulty? Is *βάσκω* (or an unreduplicated compound of it) with a firmly established intransitive sense incapable of developing a causative meaning? Or will the assumption of a causative meaning here have the effect of disrupting a consistent, nay, inviolate, morphological/semasiological pattern within the Greek verbal system? Wackernagel finds support in the reduplicated compounds with causative meaning, *διαβιβάσκω* 'cause to go over,' i. e. 'take or carry over/across' (Hp.), *ἐμβιβάσκω* 'cause to go in(to), on,' i. e. 'set in(to), on' (Amorgos inscr., 4th cent. B. C.), *ἐπιβιβάσκω* 'put the male to the female' (causing one to get on the other) (Arist.), also *διδάσκω* 'cause to learn, teach,' *πιπίσκω* 'cause to drink, give to drink,' etc. From this list one may assume that for a compound of *βάσκω* to qualify for a causative meaning, it must be a reduplicated form.

[8] Cf. Delbrück, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[9] *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, p. 18².
[10] See Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, I, p. 707².

Now, it must be pointed out that the causative sense exhibited by these reduplicated forms is surely a later development; for, indeed, a Corinthian inscription of the 5th cent. B. C. offers an intensive non-causative *καταβιβάσκω* 'trespass' (Schwyzer, *Delectus,* 126a):

μὲ̃ καταβιβασσκέτω· ζαμία . . . .
'Let no one trespass: the penalty for the offence being . . . .'

Were we not so fortunate as to know this form, it might be thought safe enough to conclude that *βιβάσκω* compounds formed nothing but causatives, and the dangers of *argumentum ex silentio* in this case would not be obvious. Therefore, though no other instance of a causative unreduplicated *βάσκω* (compound) can be quoted, it is hardly necessary to assume with Wackernagel that the form *ἐπιβασκέμεν* which our texts offer is a reduction of a reduplicated form. The poet would have been capable of overcoming the difficulty of accommodating in the verse the form **ἐπιβιβασκέμεν,* if ever it was part of his vocabulary, in other ways than by intentionally obscuring a morphologically distinctive form. And if we are really in need of a support for a non-reduplicated *-σκω* form with causative meaning, *(ϝ)ίσκω* 'cause to be like, make think like (i. e. take for)' < **ϝικ-σκω-*

ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα
Hom., *Od.,* XIX, 203

'he fashioned many lies in the likeness of truth,' beside the full-grade primary root present *(ϝ)εἴκω* 'be like, seem (good),'[11] may furnish one.[12]

The question, of course, arises: how has *-σκω* come to form causatives, seeing that the causative sense is not originally a feature of *-sk̂ᵉ/o-* formation nor is it essentially that of reduplication either (cf. *(ϝ)ίσκω* [unreduplicated] and *(ϝ)ε-(ϝ)ί-σκω* [reduplicated] with identical meaning).

One possibility for this development is that indicated by Leu-

[11] Possibly evidenced by the impf. *εἶκε* (in Hom., *Il.,* XVIII, 520, *οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἵκανον ὅθι σφίσιν εἶκε λοχῆσαι,* 'and when they came to the place where it seemed good to them to lie in ambush'), cf. the pf. *ἔοικα* (**Fε-ϝοικ-α*) with present sense. See Bechtel, *Lexil.,* p. 182.

[12] Note also the suffix *-sk̂ᵉ/o-* with a causative function in Tocharian, cf. Wolfgang Krause, *Westtoch. Gramm.* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 82.

mann [13] of the causative reduplicated *-σκω* finding a model in a conceived **ἱστάσκω* 'stelle auf' (cf. the iterative *ἵσταασκ(ε)*, Hom., *Od.*, XIX, 574) to *ἵστημι*. After the analogy of *ἔστησα*: **ἱστάσκω* seem to have been formed the reduplicated causatives *-βιβάσκω πιπίσκω* to causative sigmatic aorists *ἔ-βη-σα ἔ-πῑ-σα* which stand in contrast to intransitive root aorists *ἔ-βη-ν *ἔ-πῑ-ν* (transformed to the thematic *ἔ-πι-ον*), cf. impv. *πῖ-θι*, like *ἔ-στη-σα* : *ἔ-στη-ν*, *ἔ-φυ-σα* : *ἔ-φῡ-ν*, *ἔ-δῡ-σα* : *ἔ-δῡ-ν*.

Another possibility for the development is the one, often observed, of causative-active forms arising from existing intransitive medio-passive ones. *-κυΐσκω* in *ἀνακυΐσκω* 'impregnate again' (Arist.) has been drawn in this way from the more frequent *κυΐσκομαι* 'be pregnant, conceive' (since Hdt.); likewise *μεθύσκω* 'make drunk, intoxicate' (Hdt., etc.) from the more frequent *μεθύσκομαι* 'get drunk, be intoxicated' (since Hdt.). *μιμνήσκω* 'make to think of, remind' (Hom., etc.) may also have arisen in this way from *μιμνήσκομαι* 'be made to think of, remember' (since Hom.).

Besides those two possibilities, still another one has to be admitted of a development which falls outside the pale of morphological patternings. It is a development, by no means peculiar to one language, whereby a verbal form, often in the psycho-physical sphere, comes to carry at once an intransitive and a causative-transitive sense. Examples like *ἵζω/ἱζάνω* 'sit' on the one hand, 'make to sit' on the other, *ἀνιάω* 'feel grief, sorrow' on the one hand, 'cause to grieve' on the other, *πτήσσω* 'crouch (for fear)' on the one hand, 'make to crouch (for fear), scare, alarm' on the other can be multiplied in Greek. Cf. verbs in English like 'move' or 'remove,' 'turn' or 'return,' 'grieve,' etc. This kind of development can explain *βάσκω* (intrans. and causative), which can no more be startling.

2. *πέρνημι*

The Greek *-νᾱ-/-νᾰ-* presents (type *πίτνημι, κίρνημι*) correspond to the Skt. type *krīṇā́mi* (the Skt. IXth verbal class). The *-νᾱ-/-νᾰ-* suffix (from the Greek point of view), before which a nil-grade of the root seems to be the rule,[14] presumably goes

[13] *Museum Helveticum*, XIV (1957), pp. 75 ff. (= *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 260 ff.).

[14] See Meillet, "Des présents grecs en *-νᾱ-/-νᾰ-*," *Mélanges Vendryes*,

back to an ablauting Indo-European nasal infix **-ne-H₂-/-n-H₂-*.[15] These presents usually show disyllabic bases: *πίτνημι* (*πετα-*), *κίρνημι* (*κερα-*), *δάμνημι* (*δομα-*), etc. A group of presents, within this class of verbs, whose disyllabic base contains the vowel *-ε-* in the initial syllable generally show *-ι-* vocalism in the first syllable of the nasal present forms: *κίρνημι* beside (*ἐ*)*κέρασ*(*σ*)*α*, *σκίδνημι* beside (*ἐ*)*σκέδασα*, *πίλναμαι* beside (*ἐ*)*πέλασ*(*σ*)*α*, etc. The unexpected *-ι-* vocalism has been variously explained: as old nil-grade of *-ε-* as in Hom. *πίσυρες*, etc.;[16] as analogical from the type in which it is believed *-ι-* represents IE *-i̯-*, e. g. *ὀριγνάομαι* : Lith. *réiži̯ù-s*, OHG. *reihhen*;[17] by assimilation to the reduplicated *ἵστημι* type;[18] or as due to the influence of a single reduplicated present form, viz., *ὀνίνημι* reinterpreted as a *-νᾱ-/-νᾰ-* present.[19] Whatever may have been the origin of this *-ι-* vocalism, the Greek structural rearrangement which has taken place would seem to require us to expect **πίρνημι* instead of the form *πέρνημι* which we actually have. Of course, any reorganization in

pp. 275 ff.; Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, I, p. 691. Schwyzer (*op. cit.*, p. 693, n. 1) observes that from **dm̥nā-* the expected development would be **δανᾱ-*, and so *δαμνᾱ-* owes its *-μ-* to *δαμάω*, etc. However, on p. 841 in a postscript to this footnote he records a misgiving. The appearance of *-α-* in the first syllable of *δαμάω*, etc. also requires to be explained. It is possible that the *-μ-* in *δάμ-νη-μι* is due to the influence of other forms in this structural group, e. g. ** κάρ-νη-μι *πάλ-να-μαι*, etc. (subsequently transformed to *κίρ-νη-μι πίλ-να-μαι*, etc.) where, in spite of the regular phonetic development, abundant trace is left behind of the consonant in the second syllable of the base (*κερα-* *πελα-*, etc.) An integral part of the base is thus saved from being obscured. This influence is further observed in *δαμάω*, etc. in which the new base *δαμ-* is generalized. Differently, Chantraine, *Morphologie*², pp. 216 f.: **d°m-* "avec voyelle d'appui dans la racine" seen also in *δαμάω δαμάζω*, etc.

[15] Cf. the *-νῡ-/-νῠ-* presents (type *δείκνυμι*). See de Saussure, *Mémoire*, pp. 239 ff. (= *Recueil*, pp. 223 ff.); Benveniste, *Origines*, pp. 159 ff. For further references see Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 691, Zusatz 1. See also, more recently, Lehmann, *Proto-Indo-European Phonology* (Austin, 1952), p. 24; Puhvel, *Laryngeals and the Indo-European Verb* (*University of California Publications in Linguistics*, XXI [1960]), pp. 22 f., 31 ff., and the review of this work by Cowgill, *Lang.*, XXXIX (1963), pp. 248 ff.

[16] Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.*, I, p. 695.

[17] Brugmann-Thumb, *Griech. Gramm.*, 4th ed., p. 334.

[18] Petersen, *Lang.*, II (1926), pp. 14 ff.

[19] Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie*, p. 259, n. 24.

a linguistic system need not be thoroughgoing, but the aberration exhibited by the attested form demands a careful examination. The divergent πέρνημι is usually noted and explained perhaps correctly as owing its -ε- vocalism to aor. (ἐ)πέρασ(σ)α.[20] There seems, however, to be more to this.

On the hypothesis of analogical -ε- under the influence of the aorist, it might be legitimately asked: Why do we not have *κέρνημι after aor. (ἐ)κέρασ(σ)α, *σκέδνημι after aor. (ἐ)σκέδασα, etc.? The problem may, in fact, be tied up with the question of ancient Greek phonetic structure. It is noteworthy that, as far as we can ascertain from our lexica, there seems to be no other ancient Greek word with initial πιρ- recorded besides πίρωμις and the Hesychius-gloss πιρίσσας[21] (the latter is not recorded by Liddell and Scott!). πιρίσσας is explained by ἐλέφας, but no certain source is mentioned. In all probability the source is Iranian, cf. Pers. *pil* 'elephant.'[22] The equally adventitious πίρωμις, on the other hand, occurs definitely as an Egyptian word in Herodotus who gives the Greek equivalent (πίρωμις δέ ἐστι κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός [II, 143]). We, accordingly, have no genuine ancient Greek word with the initial sequence πιρ-, and the operation of analogy which produced περ-νη- instead of the expected *πιρ-νη must have been necessitated in the first instance by this phonetic factor. This problem, which does not appear to occur with the other forms in this group, possibly involves the entire labial series in initial position—the usual entries with βιρ- (βιραγός βίρρον βίρροξ βίρρος and the Hesychius-glosses βίρρη βιρρωθῆναι[23]) either are foreign or may show β- merely as a spelling for, e. g., ϝ-.

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[20] Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss*², II, 3, p. 302; Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, p. 693. Risch, *Wbdg. d. hom. Spr.*, p. 227, notes the divergence but leaves it unexplained.

[21] See Schmidt, *Hesych*², *s. v.*

[22] See Frisk, *Griech. etym. Wb.*, I, *s. v.* ἐλέφας, who, however, makes no note of the gloss.

[23] See Liddell and Scott, Suidas, Et. Gud.

PLAUTUS, *POENULUS*, 53-55.

> Καρχηδόνιος *vocatur haec comoedia;*
> *latine Plautus Patruos Pultiphagonides.*
> *nomen iam habetis.*

The last three words of this quotation suggest that the audience was expected to understand the name that has just been given them; in other words, they are supposed to understand why the Carthaginian (Καρχηδόνιος) is called *Pultiphagonides.* Knowing Plautus' fondness for puns, and particularly for punning names,[1] one is tempted to find a similar pun here. *Pultiphagonides* is patently a hybrid word, half Greek and half Latin; it sounds suspiciously like Latin slang, or at any rate street Latin; the adjective from which it is derived, *pultiphagus*, is used in *Most.*, 828, where the context suggests that it was a term of contempt applied to Italians by Greeks.[2] The word is made up of Latin *puls*, "porridge," and Greek φαγεῖν, "to eat," and means, of course, "porridge-eating."

But Plautus says quite clearly that *Pultiphagonides* is the Latin version of Καρχηδόνιος, the Greek title of the play. On first glance, this appears to be a somewhat pointless joke, but I believe that a closer look will show that it is not pointless at all. Our eye falls at once on the syllable, -ηδ-, of Καρχηδόνιος; remembering Plautus' fondness for bilingual puns, we may see here the Latin root *-ed-* (*edo, esse,* "to eat") and this certainly gives us a clue to the *-phagus-, -phagonides* part of the Carthaginian's name. We may conclude, then, that Καρχηδόνιος could mean, to a Latin audience, "the eater of **karch*"; if the audience did not get it immediately, they certainly would after Plautus so obligingly translated the term for them in the next line.

If this is the case, then **karch* ought to be at least roughly equivalent to *puls*. There is no Greek word to suggest this, but

[1] There are many such, but one might mention such obvious examples as *Peniculus* in the *Menaechmi* and *Pyrgopolinices* in the *Miles.*

[2] Sonnenschein on *Most.*, 828 has some parallels for hybrids of this sort.

my colleague Herbert Paper, of the Department of Near Eastern Languages, has kindly passed on to me a letter that he received from Jonas Greenfield at the University of California at Berkeley, with the information that in Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Talmud,* the word *qrh* is defined as "pea." He also reported that Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum,* 694a, gives *ciceres* as the Latin equivalent for the plural of this word in Syriac. Professor Paper further remarked that although the evidence is not entirely clear, it could suggest an Aramaic word, *qarḥ/karḥ,* that might mean "pea, chickpea." There is no evidence, says Professor Paper, for a similar word in Canaanite or Punic, but he was of the opinion that the possibility was not at all to be excluded. In other words, it is at least possible that Punic had a word *karch*—or that Plautus thought it had, that meant—or was thought by Plautus to have meant—"pea, chickpea, porridge."

If this is true, then Plautus has coined here a particularly appropriate bilingual punning name, by which *karch-ed* (Καρχ -ηδ-) becomes Latin-Greek *puls-φαγ-* and eventuates in the adjective *pultiphagus* and in the name *Pultiphagonides,* thus making our Carthaginian "Uncle Mushmouth." [3]

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[3] I am of course not suggesting that the *karch*-part of Greek Καρχηδόνιος actually was derived from a Punic word that meant "chickpea," but only that to an Italian, this Greek version of whatever name the Carthaginians used for themselves, sounded as if it were. In view of the passages in Punic that occur in the *Poenulus,* and in view of the long years of association, both friendly and unfriendly, between Italy and Carthage, it would certainly not be surprising if the Italians had picked up a word or two of Punic. In fact, they must have, for Plautus was not a man to waste a joke.

ON *C. I. L.*, II, 473.

The text of this inscription, republished in *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos provinciales*,[1] has now been established as follows:

Divo Augusto | *Albinus Albui f. flamen* |
Divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan(iae)

Since Livia is divinised, the stone must be assigned to the period after A. D. 42 (Suet., *Claud.*, 2; Seneca, *Apocol.*, 9, 5; Dio Cass., LX, 5): presumably it was inscribed under Claudius, though at first sight there is nothing definite to provide a *terminus ante.*

Now that Hübner's proposed reading *flamen divi Aug(usti)* . . . is out of the question,[2] we are faced with the problem of the strange-sounding title *flamen divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan(iae).* Two solutions have been suggested. On the grounds that it would be impossible for a *flamen* to have served the cult of *diva Augusta,* R. Étienne has proposed taking *divae Augustae* as a dative in the sense that the text records a dedication both to *divus Augustus and* to *diva Augusta.*[3] On this view *diva Augusta* was cut immediately after *flamen* simply by a mistake of the lapidary, and the priest's title therefore conforms to the normal *flamen provinciae / flamen provinciae Lusitaniae.*[4] If one may fairly judge from a photograph, however, the stone was in fact engraved with exemplary care and skill; in which

[1] IV (1943), p. 45 = *Ann. Épigr.*, 1946, no. 201 = V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*[2] (Oxford, 1955), no. 112. A photograph of the stone is conveniently reproduced in R. Étienne, *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Paris, 1958), Pl. I.

[2] Cf. *C. I. L.*, II, p. 57.

[3] *Culte imperiale,* pp. 124 ff.; cf. p. 298.

[4] See Étienne's lists, pp. 122, 126; to which add a further *flamen provinciae Lysitani(ae) (sic)* from Ossonoba, published in *Petrus Nonius* (Lissabon), III (1940), pp. 151 f. Hübner took *C. I. L.*, II, 41 *(flamen Augustalis pro[v]inc(iae) Lu[s]ita[niae])* to be false; Krascheninnikoff considered it genuine, *Philologus,* LIII (1894), p. 177, n. 138; cf. Kornemann in *Klio,* I (1901), p. 122, n. 3.

case to suppose that the mason executed *divae Aug.* four words and two lines later than intended is to assume an oversight extreme by any yardstick. Alternatively, J. Deininger has suggested, though with great reserve, that under Claudius the provincial cult of Lusitania may simply have been devoted to the cult of Livia and that only later under Vespasian was a full scale provincial cult introduced.[5] This is certainly a reasonable inference from the priest's title, but would *divus Augustus* ever have been excluded in favour of Livia? The point would carry all the greater weight if in fact the origins of the provincial cult of Lusitania go back to Tiberius.[6] In any case the inscription itself records a dedication to *divus Augustus* by the provincial priest of Lusitania (cf. *C. I. L.*, II, 41), which would have to be taken as a purely private act if in fact the provincial cult served only *diva Augusta* at this time.

There remains a third possibility that one would have thought at least equally conceivable. Étienne remarks that to interpret *flamen divae Aug(ustae)* on the model of *flamen divi Aug(usti)* is not permissible since only a *flaminica* could have served the cult of *diva Augusta*.[7] Since, however, the inscription itself is dedicated *divo Augusto*, it would appear that we are at a time when the provincial *flamen*, and therefore the province of Lusitania, certainly paid worship to the deified Augustus. Now in the history of the Imperial cult the second important figure to be consecrated was Livia (A. D. 42), followed by Claudius on his death in A. D. 54; thereafter deification became the rule except for emperors such as Domitian, whose memory was damned. But as a whole litany would have been too unwieldy to manage, worship was normally paid to the *divi* collectively: this is shown by the term *divorum* in the titles of provincial priests, especially from the Flavian period onwards. A possible explanation, then, of the title *flamen divae Aug(ustae)* in *C. I. L.*, II, 473 may be that the stone was inscribed relatively soon after the consecration of Livia; that is, when *diva Augusta* had recently joined company with *divus Augustus* and the pro-

[5] J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit (Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, VI)* (München, 1965), p. 29.

[6] Étienne, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Deininger, *op. cit.*, note 3 with refs.

[7] Étienne, pp. 125, 172.

vincial cult of Lusitania was now directed not to one but to two deified members of the Julio-Claudian house. That the actual name of Livia should appear in the priest's title could be the result of two circumstances. In the first place, the list of divinised members of the imperial house had not yet grown to the extent that a collective noun would have been normal and accepted in preference to individual names.[8] Secondly, Emerita had had a municipal cult of Julia Augusta during her lifetime (*Ann. Epigr.*, 1915, no. 95: A. D. 14-29); hence it is possible that local piety may partly explain why Livia's new name is emphasised in the title of the provincial priest, whose seat was also at Emerita (cf. *Eph. Ep.*, VIII, p. 520, no. 302). Why the divinised *Augustus* is not also included in the priest's title is less clear, but perhaps this was thought unnecessary since the dedication clearly indicated that the *flamen* served the cult of *divus Augustus*. At all events on this explanation the inscription would have been set up between A. D. 42 and A. D. 54, the period when the provincial cult of Lusitania included both *divus Augustus* and the newly consecrated *diva Augusta*.[9] A slight difficulty is that a female *flaminica* rather than a male *flamen* normally superintended the provincial cult of the *divae*.[10] But this was true rather of later times when there was more than one *diva*. This point again perhaps indicates a date for *C. I. L.*, II, 473 in the years just after A. D. 42; that is, before the female fashion had been established.[11]

[8] Cf. the Claudian designation of the old temple of *divus Augustus* on the Palatine following the consecration of Livia: *templum divi Aug.* [*et*] *divae Augustae* (*C. I. L.*, VI, 4222).

[9] If the cult of *divus Claudius* had not reached Spain before Nero destroyed the temple on the *mons* Caelius (begun by Agrippina), then the *terminus ante* might have to be put forward to the beginning of Vespasian's reign, though the divination of Claudius was never formally annulled; cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *J. R. S.*, XXVII (1937), pp. 57-60.

[10] Étienne, pp. 166-72.

[11] In municipal cult, where a *flaminica* also catered for the *divae* (Étienne, pp. 238-50), there are two early exceptions to the rule. Both at Olisipo (*C. I. L.*, II, 194 = *I. L. S.*, 6896; A. D. 14-19) and at Emerita (*Ann. Epigr.*, 1915, no. 95: A. D. 14-29) a *flamen* served the cult of Julia Augusta in her lifetime. In any case there is some overlap: both males and females served the cult of the *domus Augusta* and one even finds a *sacerdos perpetua divorum divarum* (*C. I. L.*, II, 1341).

ELMUT FREIS. Die cohortes urbanae. Köln, Böhlau-Verlag, 1967. Pp. ix + 166. (*Epigraphische Studien*, 2, *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher*, 21.)

Although as early as 1865 Otto Eichhorst had produced fifteen ıges of inscriptions and five of commentary on the urban cohorts, ry little substantive work on the subject appeared until Dr. Freis' 65 article, "urbanae cohortes," *R.-E.*, Suppl. X, cols. 1125-40, a mpact summation of conclusions on the history, organization, em- oyment, ranking, and recruiting of the cohorts with a brief but ıll-chosen bibliography. In his book, based on the same 1962 ssertation as the article, Freis expands his *R.-E.* format (pp. 1-), with fuller argumentation and documentation and adds an ıigraphical supplement (pp. 92-148) and indices (pp. 151-66). Freis opens with a short summary of the nature of the sources, imary and secondary. Unfortunately, few inscriptions give details out the organization or employment of *urbaniciani*, though, taken gether and in conjunction with material from the *vigiles* and aetorians, they form a comprehensible picture. The literary urces are also meager, Tacitus, Suetonius, and the *Corpus Iuris vilis* contributing the principal fragments. Freis sketches Rome's ed for a city-police and recounts the history of the urban cohorts, ırting with a detailed discussion of the various dates proposed r their formation (certainly under Augustus, perhaps as early as B. C.). Freis (pp. 4-5) rejects Durry's theory (*Les cohortes étoriennes*, pp. 14-15) of the urban cohorts as a senatorial counter- ight to the imperially-oriented praetorians, since the commander the urban cohorts, the *praefectus urbi*, although a senator, was ıpointed by Augustus. However, the Senate may have accepted e cohorts as a face-saving move (Augustus liked to preserve ap- aarances), so Durry's argument is not invalidated by Freis' objec- ın. In fact, on the death of Caligula the *urbaniciani* did support e senate at first but then realigned themselves with the praetorians ıd Claudius. Pressed into field service by Otho in 69, reorganized ıd similarly used by Vitellius, the urban cohorts were reorganized ıew by Vespasian. Freis mercifully (p. 13) dismisses the inglori- ıs disaster of the cohorts fighting against the Vitellians on the ıpitoline (Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 71-3) with the brief "Das Ende des ampfes ist bekannt." Freis rightly views Dositheus, *Sent. Hadri- ı*, 2, as showing an *urbanicianus* might be promoted to the aetorians after three years if he proved a *bonus miles*, rejecting urry's mistaken notion that all urban soldiers moved on to the aetorian cohorts. (Passerini had already made the same objec- ıns, *Le coorte pretorie*, p. 170). Freis notes (p. 16) but does ıt attempt to explain the apparent absence from Rome in 140 A. D. *cohors* XI (*C. I. L.*, VI, 1009) and its renewed presence in 148 . D. (*C. I. L.*, XVI, 195), ignoring Echols' mistake, *C. J.*, LIII 957), p. 389, that it had been disbanded by Antoninus Pius. I

agree with Freis (and Durry) that Dio, LV, 24, 6 shows Severus increased the strength of individual cohorts from 500 to 1500 (*contra* Passerini, pp. 62-7 and Echols, p. 381; cf. Freis, pp. 38-9). Freis also rightly rejects the interpretation of *Digest*, XLVIII, 5, 16, 3 by Eichhorst, Mommsen, and Domaszewski that *urbanis castris* there proves the urban cohorts had a camp apart from the praetorians before that built by Aurelian. The praetorians were cashiered by Constantine in 312, but the demise of the urban cohorts is difficult to date since the terms "cohortes urbanae," "urbaniciani," and "milites urbani" came to be used also by the civilian *officium* of the *praefectus urbi*, and the distinction is thus blurred in the sources. Freis believes they did not survive Diocletian intact while Chastagnol (*Préfecture urbaine à Rome*, pp. 255-6) favors a later Valentinian date for their eclipse. Freis argues well, but, in view of the paucity and obscurity of the data, one cannot reasonably prefer his date to Chastagnol's.

In chap. VI, devoted to the role of the *praefectus urbi* and the urban cohorts in dealing with Christians, Freis relies perhaps too much on his own, often subjective, interpretations of the martyrologies. Since the city prefect was responsible for the security of the capital and from Severus on kept lists of known criminals (among whom the Christians were included) and was commissioned by imperial edict in 250 with the prosecution of Christians, Freis concludes (p. 24) that the urban cohorts conducted all persecution of Christians. But the city prefect, as Rome's highest judicial official, would hear all important cases within this jurisdiction regardless of the agents employed. Freis also assumes that when the martyrologies mention *officiales* they never mean the members of the city prefect's civilian *officium*—a questionable assumption. In some instances, even the prefect's participation is conjectural (e. g., p. 25, the banishment of Pope Pontianus). As a whole the chapter is persuasive, but many individual points are weak. For example, Freis cites (p. 25) Dio, LXV, 8, 2 to prove that in 69 A. D. urban cohorts guarded the Capitoline, though all Dio mentions are "the soldiers who had slept there." Freis then concludes that, since there was during Decius' persecution (250 A. D.) an altar on the Capitoline at which suspected Christians were ordered to sacrifice, it must have been the urban cohorts who issued certificates verifying sacrifice had been made. Freis fails to indicate that Dio does not state that the soldiers there in 69 A. D. were *urbaniciani*, and only an unwarranted leap of faith would assume, if so, that *urbaniciani* were necessarily still there in 250 A. D. Such identification as *urbaniciani* of any "soldiers" mentioned in the martyrologies weakens the section.

Freis gives a chapter each to the urban cohorts at Lyon (VII) and Carthage (VIII). He believes (p. 29) that Augustus stationed *cohors* XIII *urbana* at Lyon in 15 B. C., reasonably coupling the dispatch of a cohort with the establishment of an imperial mint there, but his identification of it as XIII is less convincing, since he fails to explain why *cohors* XVII *Lugdunensis ad monetam* should have replaced it under Claudius. An urban cohort (XIII) was first stationed at Carthage by Vespasian. Freis follows Pflaum in concluding from *C. I. L.*, VIII, 1026 and *I. L. S.*, 9200 that this

cohort participated in two wars in Europe (86 and 92 A. D.), a not unreasonable interpretation of the inscriptions but unlikely in view of the unsettled state of affairs in Africa itself. An urban cohort stayed at Carthage at least until the reign of Constantine (*C. I. L.*, VIII, 24561); Freis believes it did not survive Constantine's reforms since there is no further attestation of it, a reasonable *argumentum ex silentio* but not a conclusive proof.

Regarding the number of cohorts Augustus initially established, Freis chooses, rightly it seems, to follow (*contra* Passerini) the three of Josephus, *B. J.*, II, 205 and Tacitus, *Ann*, IV, 5, 3 rather than the four of Josephus, *Ant. J.*, XIX, 188 and Dio, LV, 24, 6. From Vespasian on there were normally four urban cohorts at Rome (X, XI, XII, and XIV) while two others (XIII and I) were at Carthage and Lyon. On the contested question of the original strength of the individual cohorts, Freis rightly dismisses Passerini and Echols, who claim 1500 and 1000 respectively (basing their arguments mainly on Dio, LV, 24, 6), preferring *cohortes quingenariae*, with the 1000-man cohorts of Vitellius (Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 93, 2) a temporary inflation of the norm. Freis follows (p. 41) Durry's interpretation of Herodian, III, 13, 4 that Severus increased the individual urban cohorts from 500 to 1500. He sensibly rejects (pp. 42-3) the assertions of Domaszewski and Durry that the urban cohorts, at least from 70 A. D. to 192 A. D., were under the command of the praetorian prefect. There is no evidence that their commander was ever anyone other than the *praefectus urbi*, though the *praefectus praetorio* undoubtedly exercised some influence over them by virtue of their close connection with the praetorians.

The urban cohorts were not essentially a political police—like the *speculatores* and *frumentarii*—but, as Freis points out (p. 44), a militarily-organized "Sicherheitspolizei" with *stationarii* scattered through Rome to maintain order, especially at public entertainments. Although Freis (p. 45) cites *Digest*, XI, 4, 1, 2 as evidence that *urbaniciani* were to search for and apprehend runaway slaves, the text mentions simply *milites stationarii* (a generic term); Freis overlooks *Digest*, I, 15, 4 in which the *praefectus vigilum* is ordered to seek out and hand over to their masters fugitive slaves; the main burden was probably on the *vigiles* (as night-police), with other units (including the urban cohorts) helping as needed. In dealing with the conditions of service (pp. 46-50), Freis dismisses Fabia's faulty notion of a 16-year service in the 1st century (a misinterpretation of *C. I. L.*, XII, 2602) for the regularly accepted 20 years (*vs.* 16 for praetorians and 25 for legions). He omits details about pay, citing mainly Brunt and Watson and accepting the customary conclusion that the pay of the *praetoriani*, *urbaniciani*, and *legionarii* stood in the same 10:5:3 ratio as their respective bequests in Augustus' will.

Pagnoni's arrangement (*Epigraphica*, IV, [1942], pp. 23-40) of *urbaniciani* of known *patria* by region and town Freis corrects, expands, and regroups into more telling form (pp. 53-62). For example, Severus discharged the old *praetoriani* (formerly drawn from the same Italian sources as the *urbaniciani*) and enlisted a new corps from provincials. That he made no major change in the

recruiting of the urban cohorts, however, is confirmed by Freis' charts on pp. 57-60. In inscriptions when *patria* is not expressed Freis (p. 53, n. 300) goes well beyond Pagnoni (who insisted on explicit mention of *patria* or congruence of the soldier's tribe and that of the provenance of the inscription), frequently assigning origin on the basis of provenance of the inscription alone, despite the fact that a veteran might not settle in his original *patria*. This and his utilization of nomenclature as proof of origin cause me some hesitation. Freis' tables (pp. 63-8) of approximately-dated inscriptions of urban tribunes and centurions arranged by *origo* unfortunately lack dating criteria. The officers, like the men, were overwhelmingly of Italian birth. Freis accordingly rejects Domaszewski's theory that Severus ousted Italo-Romans from the city-centurionates. Freis employs a wider epigraphical base and advances conclusions more tentatively about the urban ranks than did Domaszewski in his impressive but sometimes faulty *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*. (Note the appearance as *Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher*, XIV, of Dobson's 1967 revision of the 1908 edition.) In commenting on the posts of the *principales* (pp. 72-5), Freis states (p. 73) that *cornicularius tribuni* in a discharge list (*C. I. L.*, VI, 32526 a III 12) shows *cornicularii* could not be promoted to *evocatus*; cf. however *C. I. L.*, XII, 2602, albeit at Lyon. He reproduces (adding *medicus*) Domaszewski's chart of *principales* without, however, correcting Domaszewski's error in the placing of *secutor tribuni*, which must be dropped down one line between *optio valetudinarii* and *victimarius*, as *C. I. L.*, IX, 1617 shows. Freis also accepts the post of *cornicen*, based on a doubtful reading of the abbreviation CORN (which could be *cornicularius*) in a doubtful inscription (*C. I. L.*, VI, 32522d) but does not include the *tubicen* who must be intended by the TUB of *C. I. L.*, VI, 32512. When Freis presents (p. 76) Domaszewski's view that *evocatio* was limited before Severus to praetorians, he does caution against the scantiness of the evidence but unaccountably fails to cite the *evocatus* in *cohors* XII *urbana* discharged in 168 A. D. (*C. I. L.*, VI, 32521a II 6; note misprint in his text, p. 108). Useful also are Freis' chronological lists of 22 urban centurions (pp. 78-9) and 26 urban tribunes (pp. 82-3), with previous and following posts indicated to help clarify the *cursus*. But Freis is wrong about the rarity of the cognomen Placidus (4, not 1, in Dean's *Cognomina* and 154 in Kajanto's *Latin Cognomina*, not cited); thus his argument (p. 80) for the identification of the Placidus of *C. I. L.*, VI, 32520 II 5 and *A. E.*, 1916, 47 (and consequently for the tenure of a praetorian centurionate) is weakened. His conclusion (p. 81) that most praetorian centurions came not from the *vigiles and urbaniciani* but from legionary centurions is a new and interesting hypothesis, but not undebatable. He challenges Durry's statement that rapid advancement of urban centurions was the rule, aptly pointing out soldiers who lingered long in the urban centurionate, but the slightness of the evidence forbids a hasty rejection of Durry here.

A résumé (pp. 89-91), the epigraphical appendix (pp. 92-148), a table of abbreviated references (p. 149), and indices of *nomina, cognomina, munera militaria*, and *origines* (pp. 151-66) keyed to the inscriptions complete the volume. It is regrettable that Freis

did not edit the inscriptions in his appendix, though this, with supporting arguments, would have lengthened the book substantially. Minor irritations in the appendix include inconsistent cross-referencing: at VI, 32739 he has "siehe CIL VI 3907" but does not state that *C. I. L.*, VI, 31828 = 1599 or 32658 = 2680. Likewise, he gives *A. E.* references for periodicals (e. g., *N. S.* or *P. B. S. R.*) but not for collections (e. g. *I. L. Afr.* or *I. L. Alg.*). He might also have cross-referenced Pflaum's excellent *Les carrières procuratoriennes equestres* without adding bulk to his volume. The appendix is comprehensive, including even such a scrap as *C. I. L.*, VIII, 24633a, though one apparent omission is *C. I. L.*, VI, 3253. Others that could be added, depending on restorations, are *C. I. L.*, VI, 2256 and V, 7894. In connection with Messius Atticus of *I. R. T.*, 439 Freis cites *I. R. T.*, 408 (showing him as a praetorian) but not *I. R. T.*, 438 (showing him as a *sacerdos*). In treating inscriptions with cohorts X, XI, or XII but no unit designation (*urbana, praetoriana, voluntariorum,* etc.) he is inconsistent, including *A. E.*, 1925, 19 but not *C. I. L.*, VI, 3630. A separate full bibliography instead of a single page of abbreviations would have been welcome. Nevertheless, the book is well-researched, well-written, and well-printed, deserving a place in any classical library.

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D. J. CONACHER. Euripidean Drama: Myth, Theme, and Structure. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967. Pp. xiii + 355. $8.50.

It is not easy to write a book on Euripides, much less a good book. The unity of vision and consistency of form which a scholarly consensus might find in Aeschylus or Sophocles are not so evident in Euripides. That such plays as the *Troades* and the *Helen* should issue from the same hand (and within a few years of one another!) is a scandal to the simplifying intellect that considers the poet's variety of theme, structure, tone, and attitude the symptoms of confused, inconsistent thinking, and the first stage in the decline of "classical" form. As a result, the study of Euripides has for the most part taken the less desperate path of "historical" criticism, which treats the plays primarily as documents to explain, or be explained by, contemporary events and issues, or of chronological classification by stylistic, metrical, and dramaturgic criteria.

Without impugning the merits of such studies, or even entirely abandoning them, Professor Conacher sets himself the more rewarding, if more arduous, task of interpreting Euripides precisely in and through the multiplicity and variety which others have found so intractable. In particular, Conacher insists that variety and novelty of structure and technique are functions of variety and novelty of theme. He contends that tragedy is born of a tension between the pressure of external necessity and the freedom of indi-

vidual will. Of these two essential poles of the tragedian's art, the first is expressed by Aeschylus and Sophocles in *mythic* terms, which predicate, Conacher says, "the existence of another order of reality, external and divine, above and beyond the human psyche," and which dispose events in fixed patterns "indicative of some divine plan or order in the universe." This unified vision influences form, rendering it organic within each play and consistent from play to play. By contrast, the alleged inconsistency of Euripides derives from the fact that he is independent of the mythic view and, as a consequence, able to manipulate its traditional materials with relatively fewer restrictions. The external necessity confounding heroic will is no longer identified with remote, transcendent, supernatural, and (to a literal-minded age) arbitrary agents, but located within the protean world of experience, and expressed in a variety of realistic causal terms and credible contexts. Euripidean art is prismatic; it refracts the compact mythic vision of tragic suffering into multiple aspects, each with its own particular tone, each demanding a distinctive structure. Complementing this new outlook on the necessitous order of things is Euripides' treatment of the other pole of the tragedian's art, the tragic sufferer. Since, in Aeschylus and Sophocles, the picture of the divine order confronting the hero is accepted for the most part in the shape given it by tradition, their efforts are concentrated upon the individual tragic sufferer and the catastrophe which constitutes the climax of his drama. But the energy which Euripides expends in differentiating and investigating other than traditional mythic grounds of necessity leaves the individual tragic hero somewhat diminished, at times less sharply defined, and in some cases displaced from the center of dramatic focus.

There is yet another factor accounting for the novelty and variety of Euripidean art. Since replacing the mythic outlook often involves discrediting it, scepticism and satire of literal belief in the traditional gods plays an unprecedented role, covering a wide range of modulation, from the slightly but intentionally overdrawn Aphrodite of the *Hippolytus* to the fantastic assumption of the *Helen* and the bungling providence of Apollo in the *Ion*.

What emerges, then, are several *different kinds* of tragedy, none corresponding very neatly to any historical grouping of the plays (e. g., Conacher's division, "realistic tragedy," comprises works from the beginning, middle, and end of the playwright's career, whether one uses external evidence or the internal evidence of the percentage of resolved iambic trimeters: *Medea* 431 B. C. [6.5%], *Electra* 421-15 B. C. [17%], *Orestes* 408 B. C. [39.4%]). Conacher's categories are not rigid; he modestly admits that among the plays, just as in the spectrum, there are areas of interpenetration that baffle overnice discriminations. Yet as critical scaffolding, the author's arrangement permits the plays to illuminate one another more fully than any strictly genetic approach would do. Conacher's study of themes and structures accordingly takes the form of a "declension" from the more traditional and "classical" ("mythological") *Hippolytus* and *Bacchae* through the "near-mythical" *Heracles* to the political and social tragedies (*Supp.*, *Heracl.*), war tragedies (*Troad.*, *Hec.*, *Andr.*), and "realistic tragedies" (*Med.*,

El., *Or.*). Three final divisions are set up to include plays in which a strictly tragic effect is aborted, diluted, or inverted: "*tragédie manquée*" (*Ph.*, *IA*), "romantic tragedy" (*Ion*, *Hel.*, *IT*), and "satyric (and pro-satyric?) drama" (*Cyc.*, *Alc.*).

Even in the plays of his first classification Conacher finds that the literal framework of the myth affirmed in the prologue and epilogue is so undermined by the natural psychological dynamics of the dramatic action that Aphrodite and Dionysus become more obviously symbolic of powers (perhaps no less necessitous) within human nature and experience. In the *Heracles*, we are not even invited to interpret Hera symbolically: her irrational and fortuitous incursion into the career of Heracles, together with the structural violence that reflects it, serves to demolish any conception of cosmic order. Once presented, it proves to be dispensable scaffolding for the poet's more pressing concern: a humanity more estimable than the gods of myth as literally understood, and capable of heroic recovery from the most unpredictable shocks existence can offer.

In the political, social, and war tragedies divine causality is either entirely absent or, where it does appear, plays an even more diminutive role than in the *Heracles*. Although, to be sure, there may be in varying degrees what Conacher calls "disturbing flashes of . . . iconoclasm which Euripides allows to play around his central theme," the poet is for the most part concerned with suffering fully explicable in terms of man's dealings with his fellow men. As in the *Heracles*, catastrophe is less important than the response it elicits. Where it is possible to compare Euripides with Sophocles in their treatment of equivalent mythic subject-matter (as Euripides' *Supp.* with Sophocles' *Ant.*, and Euripides' *Andr.* with the probable contents of Sophocles' *Hermione*) Conacher notes a tendency of the younger poet to intellectualize, "socialize," and secularize a situation which in Sophocles involves religious issues and the fate of individuals. Conacher also sees in the idealized political themes of the *Supp.*, *Heracl.*, and to a lesser extent the *Andr.* a diluting of universal and properly tragic effects.

Conacher next considers "realistic" tragedies, which he calls the antithesis of the "mythological" tragedies, "for though like them they deal with individual and self-destroying tragic sufferers, they do so in realistic terms of individual psychology and environment which finds little use, except at certain isolated moments, for myth even in its symbolic uses." For his *Medea* Euripides is represented as having transformed untragic material—an inhuman witch from the folktale tradition—into a tragic sufferer whose maternal anguish and better judgments are overwhelmed by her passion for vengeance. The poet's Electra, in sharp and seemingly intentional contrast with the Electra's of his predecessors, is a neurotic bent on matricide, propelled by a vindictiveness which is greater than and quite independent of divine command or paternal loyalty. Similarly, the *Orestes* shows us a "sub-hero," initially unbalanced not by Erinyes but by the tension between homicidal vengefulness and remorse, who plays out what Conacher describes as "an unconscious process of self-revelation in which what Orestes turns out to be at the end is what, for all his remorseful self-shielding, he really was at the beginning, the monster (as Euripides saw him) who could murder his mother."

Parody and satire of literally accepted myth play a greater role in Conacher's last three divisions. These include plays which are non-tragic for a variety of reasons: lack of thematic concentration, happy resolutions, impossible or incredible situations, paradoxical confrontations between myth and reality or between reality and rhetoric, and technical virtuosity for its own sake. Yet even the most frivolous of them have, as Conacher observes, "a disturbing way of hinting at a state of affairs more real but less palatable than the ones presented in the actions of the plays."

The space allotted for the presented review does not make feasible a detailed critique of Conacher's discussion and analysis of the individual plays. Suffice it to say that his is judicious and stimulating criticism at its best. Where a reader may now and again find himself in disagreement with the author, it will be over subtle shades of emphasis about which reasonable men will perhaps always differ. In surveying the critical history and inherited *cruces* of each play, Conacher's austere economy will gratify the specialist. But in his discussion of "the myth" and its uses in Aeschylus and Sophocles, some readers may be disconcerted by his brevity and generalization; in particular, they may (like Zuntz [pp. 36 f., 79 f.] and Winnington-Ingram [pp. 85 f.] in *Euripide, Entretiens sur L'Antiquité Classique,* VI) question the validity of the antithesis which Conacher draws between reality and myth and between the natural and the supernatural. One would like to have seen a somewhat fuller discussion of the following points: the Aristophanic interpretation of Euripides and what influence literally accepted myth might have had on moral attitude and behavior among his contemporaries; the relationship between Euripides and Socrates-Plato in revealing the bankruptcy of myth and in counterbalancing it; the inevitable difficulty encountered by Euripides in achieving universality in the twilight zone between myth and philosophy; the relationship between the breakdown of myth and the breakdown of the *polis*, and how this affects Euripides' attitude toward his citizen-audience; what *essential* difference of meaning is introduced by transforming a mythical agency into a psychological or environmental necessity in the face of which the individual sufferer is no less impotent. Further, one is surprised not to find, either in the discussion or in the bibliography (except on the *Cyc.*), any mention of Arrowsmith's suggestive essays on Euripides, especially "A Greek Theater of Ideas" (*Arion*, II [1963], pp. 32-56) and the introductions to his translations of the *Ba.*, *HF*, *Hec.*, and *Or.* And it is a pity that no one took the trouble to index this book.

The following *errata* were noticed. P. 7, line 36: for "p. 68" read "p. 168"; line 40: close parentheses at end of sentence. P. 20: for "her child Neoptolemus" read "her child *by* Neoptolemus." P. 21, line 38: for "chapter 8" read "chapter 9." P. 42: for "Thesueus" read "Theseus." P. 102: for "σῶζῃ" read "σώζῃ." P. 107, line 4: for "see" read probably "say" [trans. of λέγειν], and for "911-13" read "913-15." P. 112: for "Demaphon" read "Demophon." P. 113: for "Iophon" read "Iolaus." P. 117, lines 20 ff.: "Alcmene, widow of Heracles," etc. is, of course, quite wrong. P. 119, line 31: for "note 16" read "note 17." P. 150: for "Hecubas'" read "Hecuba's." P. 152, line 35 (and p. 162, line

39): for "Matthiae" read "Matthaei" [Louise Matthaei is meant here, not Auguste Matthiae]. P. 161: for "θεοὺς" read "θεοὺς." P. 185 (and p. 186): for "Creophilos" read "Creophylos." P. 230: for "Wecylein" read "Wecklein." P. 240: for "ἦ" read "ἦ." P. 241: for "ἄ" read "ἀ." P. 249, line 28: for "*Phoenissae*" read "*Iphigeneia at Aulis*." P. 252, note 6; for "Aulis'" read "Aulis." P. 287, line 27: for "Odysseus" read "Menelaus." P. 321: for "τοὺς" read "τοὺς." P. 355: for "EGP" read "EGF."

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REGULA FREI-STOLBA. Untersuchungen zu den Wahlen in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Zürich, Juris Druck & Verlag, 1967. Pp. 299. Paper, Swiss Fr. 48. (Diss.).

Dr. Frei-Stolba (hereafter F-S.) offers an admirable study of elections to the magistracies from the later republic through the reign of Trajan. She is fully familiar both with the ancient sources and with modern scholarly literature. An only, and minor, complaint might be that the style is at times wordy and the conclusions hard to disentangle from the argument.

F-S. opens with an introduction on previous research into the topic and on discussions of the *Tabula Hebana*. In her first chapter, she reviews procedures for and conduct of elections during the later republic. Since she holds that the meanings of terms then used and the general procedures were revived by Augustus, this chapter merits somewhat full analysis. She follows Prof. L. R. Taylor in regarding the tribal organization as basic to campaigning for election in either *comitia*. She also accepts the modern emphasis on the rule of family-centered *factiones* behind the façade of electoral procedures. She defines the various terms used. *Professio* was the application of a candidate to a qualified magistrate for inclusion on the list which the magistrate would eventually present to the assembly. *Nominatio* was used in Cicero's day for the proposal by a competent person of a candidate for election to one of the religious colleges. Under the empire it came to be used also for proposal for election to a civil magistracy. *Suffragatio* meant the oral recommendation of a candidate either in a set speech or, more often, by a simple statement of support or by a request (*prex*) that the candidate be elected. Finally, *commendatio*, which, since Mommsen, has been regarded as under the empire a binding recommendation for the election of a candidate, was used by Cicero in the general sense of "recommendation" and was practically synonymous with *suffragatio*, though usually written, not oral. Hence, through the succeeding chapters, F-S. argues that Mommsen's position that imperial *commendatio* had from the time of Augustus by actual law a binding force should be given up, though naturally

she admits that with the passage of time it came in fact to have a binding character.

The editor's request for brevity renders impossible an equally detailed analysis of chapters two through eight, in which F-S. studies carefully and sensibly all the evidence for elections from Caesar through Trajan. Noteworthy are her discussions of Suetonius' version, *Iul.*, 41, 2, of the *Lex Antonia de candidatis* of 44 B. C., which gave Caesar the right to "appoint" half the magistrates for any year; of Dio's statements, notably in LV, 34, 2 on 7 A. D., about Augustus' conduct of elections; of the law of 19 or 20 A. D. preserved in the *Tabula Hebana*, which records a procedure of *destinatio* (= republican *designatio*) for selecting candidates by centuries of senators and knights; of the relation of this apparently short-lived procedure to Tacitus' remark, *Ann.*, I, 14, 5, about the transfer of elections from the Campus to the Senate after the accession of Tiberius and Velleius' note, II, 124, 3, that he and his brother were the last to be "commended" for the praetorship by Augustus and the first by Tiberius; and of the tenth clause of the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* (late 69 or early 70 A. D.), which prescribes prior consideration of the candidacy of persons who enjoyed either imperial *commendatio* or imperial *suffragatio*.

Suffice it, therefore, to conclude that F-S. has provided an indispensable basis for any future discussions of elections in the early empire. She argues persuasively that the transfer of the electoral function from the assemblies to the senate began under Augustus, who at first followed the republican practice of recommending a certain number of candidates for each office, except probably the consulship, either orally (*suffragatio*) or in writing (*commendatio*). Neither was "binding" though both, of course, were very influential. Thus Mommsen's distinction between a binding *commendatio* and a recommendatory *nominatio* should be abandoned and the latter term should be restricted to the presentation by a magistrate of the names of candidates to an assembly. Augustus later experimented with making his recommendations on the advice of his senatorial *consilium* and interposing a selection (*destinatio*) by centuries of senators and equestrians between recommendation (by himself or others) and voting in the assemblies. Tiberius placed responsibility for the preparation of lists of candidates in the hands of the senate, to which he submitted his recommendations; in consequence the *destinatio* by the centuries must soon have become superfluous and vanished, and election (*creatio*) of the senatorial list containing one candidate for each office which the qualified magistrates presented to the assemblies (*renuntatio*) must have become a formality, attested by *acclamatio* rather than by voting. Though the imperial recommendation never legally had a binding force, it came in practice to be regarded as binding, as is recognized in the privileged consideration ensured by the *lex de imp. Vesp.* for candidates who enjoyed either imperial *commendatio* (written) or imperial *suffragatio* (oral). Obviously not only imperial recommendation but any expression of imperial support must have been very influential in the senate. Nevertheless, the correspondence of Pliny the Younger shows that still under Trajan, something of the Augustan tradition of coöperation between emperor and senate survived in that the

emperors restricted the number of candidates whom they recommended to fewer than the places to be filled so that there were still free campaigning and elections in the senate for at least a part of the magisterial posts.

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PETER RAU. Paratragodia, Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes. Munich, Beck, 1967. Pp. x + 228. DM. 35. (*Zetemata,* XLV.)

Rau limits his use of the term "paratragodia" or "paratragedy" to those situations where Aristophanes' comic effect derives from a specific borrowing from tragic language or from an imitation of clearly recognizable tragic situations and formal motifs. After a brief introduction (pp. 1-18), he turns to specific passages in five chapters: the *Telephus* parody in *Ach.* and *Thesm.* and the *Bellerophon* parody in *Pax* in chap. 1; the Agathon parody of *Thesm.* in chap. 2; the *Frogs* in chap. 3. The last two chapters deal with typical tragic motifs (e. g. messengers' speeches, greetings, laments, ominous silences, oracles, etc.) in a cross-section of the plays. The rapid shifting from one play to another and the need for constant reference to the text, scholia, and Nauck's tragic fragments do not make for easy reading; but the book deserves close study, especially for *Ach.* and *Thesm.*, which claim a lion's share of attention. Two long indexes, keyed both to Aristophanes (fragments included) and the tragic passages parodied, are especially welcome.[1]

The book amounts to a collection of specialized commentaries on isolated scenes. This method suits most of Rau's purposes, but it sometimes prevents him from seeing the significance of a given motif in terms of the entire comedy. The end of *Thesm.*, for instance, is more than just "die komische reductio ad absurdum der Euripideischen Rettungsmechanemata" (p. 89), but is itself an ironical commentary on the sophistry and airy aesthetics of this most intellectual of poets, reduced at the end to a solution which has nothing to do with intellect, not to speak of tragedy. One may note too the contrast with the *sophismata* of Euripides' opening words (5 ff., 14 ff.) and also that between the Scythian and the problematical masculinity of Agathon (97 ff.). Similarly in the same play Rau duly observes the comedy in Mnesilochus' obscene interruptions of Agathon (pp. 100 f.); but note how this *βινεῖσθαι-χοανεύειν* motif (50, 57, 62) is humorously turned back upon this un-Agathonian character at the end (1115-24).

[1] As a measure of Rau's industry one may note that the second of his indexes has a counterpart in Van de Sande Bakhuyzen's *De Parodia in Comoediis Aristophanis* of 1877: Rau's is several times larger and much more specific. Naturally such a list cannot be definitive, and scholars will add or subtract details. I would add, for instance, *Ach.*, 326 as a "parodische Inkongruenz" with the preceding line (cf. v. 17 with Starkie's note).

Rau's general position on Aristophanic parody is healthy and fruitful. He recognizes that the poet sometimes imaginatively condenses or alters tragic scenes, as in the *Helen* parody of *Thesm.*; sometimes fuses (or "contaminates") different plays in a single passage (*Pax*, 114 ff.); sometimes changes the original for no visible comic effect (*Thesm.*, 859 f., 868). Rau willingly grants that Aristophanes can compose in the tragic style nearly as well as the tragedians themselves (pp. 13, 192). Yet this fact raises a theoretical problem not recognized by Rau. Aristophanes' absorption of the tragic material into his comic style and, one could say, his comic universe is so complete that a separation into "comic style" and "paratragic style" is sometimes artificial. The artificiality appears especially strongly in plays which have themselves a theme of almost tragic seriousness, such as the *Birds* (cf. 1706-19 and Rau, pp. 167 f.). Rau's method also runs the inevitable risk of neglecting certain qualities of Aristophanes' art in the search for the tragic original.

Still, Rau begins with the belief that Aristophanes is a brilliant comic poet, and this is a good start. He avoids the temptation of seeing Aristophanes as a moralizing satirist and rejects a division between "rein komische" and "kritisch-polemische" parody (pp. 3-4, 11). In practice, however, Rau takes some of the parodies as more serious and bitter than they probably are, e. g. the begging scene of *Ach.*, 396 ff. (pp. 34-6) and the Echo parody of *Thesm.*, 1056 ff. (p. 84). In the case of the latter, we have no grounds for suspecting a deeply serious attack on Euripidean extravagance of staging. Given the novelty and the success of the *Andromeda*, the Echo scene was an obvious target. The surprising thing would be to find Aristophanes *not* parodying it.

Rau is interested in the complex play-within-a-play effect and the shift between reality and illusion which these extended parodies sometimes create (pp. 57, 183). Yet one could wish for a fuller treatment of the way in which prosaic bystanders, like the Old Woman of *Thesm.*, 850 ff. or the Scythian later (1083 ff., 1110 ff.) are incorporated into the new fictional framework, opened by the parody. The two planes of reality seem sometimes to stand in harsh opposition, sometimes to blend together in a momentary victory of the imagination. In *Thesm.*, 913 f. this juxtaposition is more complex than Rau suggests (p. 57), for the original (Eur., *Hel.*, 566 f.) has an almost comic harshness and realism, while Aristophanes' pseudo-Helen, as his plight requires, cleaves desperately to the romantic make-believe.

Though the book is generally full of good sense, some of the distinctions between "parody," "comic version," and "travesty" seem occasionally arbitrary (e. g. pp. 169-73 on *Equ.*). When applied to the difficult passage *Nub.*, 1458-61 (the sudden transformation of the Clouds from Sophistic air-goddesses to Aeschylean moralizers), this distinction seems to give a more serious interpretation than Rau is willing to admit (pp. 173-4, with n. 11).[2] Rau interestingly touches on a too often neglected subject: parodies of

[2] To Newiger, *Metapher und Allegorie*, pp. 67-9, add P. Pucci, "Saggio sulle Nuvole," *Maia*, n. s. XII (1960), pp. 40-2; *Arethusa*, II (1969), pp. 143-61.

musical effects (pp. 70, 103-8, 126 ff., 133). Regrettably he does not treat the question of how much of his "paratragedy" the poet expected his audience to grasp.[3] It might also have been worth noting the relative rarity of self-parody, so common in Hellenistic and Roman literature.[4]

In restoring the original from Aristophanic parodies Rau shows an exemplary caution (e. g. p. 31, p. 32 with n. 36, p. 76). On the difficult problem of the *Telephus* he plausibly argues that Telephus' first speech (parodied in *Ach.*, 497 ff. and *Thesm.*, 466 ff.) was on his own, not Troy's, behalf and therefore *followed* the Atreids' quarrel about whether to attack Troy or Mysia. This reconstruction seems perhaps preferable to that of Rea and Handley[5] since it establishes a suitable occasion for the beggar to speak (and also, incidentally, helps explain why frag. 706 N is addressed to Agamemnon). Rau is sceptical about restoring other scenes of the *Telephus* from Aristophanes, e. g. the announcement of a spy as in the Cleisthenes episode of *Thesm.*, 574 ff., the hostage motif of *Ach.* and *Thesm.*, the supposed parallel between the entrance of Lamachus at *Ach.*, 572 ff. and that of Achilles in the *Telephus*. On this last point Rau might have used the papyrus evidence to greater advantage, for the Berlin papyrus, now almost certainly shown by *Ox. Pap.* 2460 to contain a portion of the *Telephus* and not Sophocles' *Gathering of the Achaeans*, preserves the entrance of Achilles and sustains Rau's thesis.

Elsewhere, however, Rau perhaps applies his criteria of verbal quotation and/or external evidence too strictly. He denies that Mnesilochus' defense of Euripides in *Thesm.*, 466 ff. is a parody (p. 46), despite the "isolated" quotation at 518 f. But surely the *Telephus* scene was present to Aristophanes throughout. Similarly in the porter scene of *Ran.*, 464 ff. Rau's arguments are not decisive against a parody of the *Peirithoos* now generally attributed to Critias (see Radermacher's *Frösche*, pp. 212 ff.). The jokes of 463 f., 479-91, 494-6 would be greater if there were a play upon a serious encounter with a truly "brave" Heracles. The fact that the tone of this meeting in the tragedy was courteous hardly excludes the possibility of parody, as Rau thinks (p. 116). On the other hand Rau's discussion of the lyric parodies in the *Frogs* rightly allows these passages a higher merit than other recent critics; and he sensibly does not try to torture into sense what the poet intended as nonsense (p. 130).

Rau's treatment of individual lines contains many valuable insights and judicious interpretations: e. g. *Ach.*, 1184 (p. 140); *Thesm.*, 1030 (pp. 73 f.); *Thesm.*, 1050 f. (pp. 77 f. with n. 44, where add Catull., 44, 20 with Rogers). Good too are his remarks

[3] See, e. g., A. C. Schlesinger, *A. J. P.*, LVIII (1937), p. 305: "It seems likely . . . that to a large extent Aristophanes used parody for his own amusement without attempting always to get it across to his public."

[4] See, for example, E. J. Kenney, "*Nequitiae poeta*," in *Ovidiana*, ed. N. I. Herescu (Paris, 1958), p. 201.

[5] E. W. Handley and John Rea, "The *Telephus* of Euripides," *B. I. C. S.*, Suppl. no. 5 (1957); T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967), pp. 44 ff.

on the diminutive at *Ran.*, 100, 1360, *Thesm.*, 272 (pp. 121, 135) and the paratragic borrowing of μέλεος especially with polyptoton (pp. 75-6).

I have a few criticisms of detail. *P. 29, n. 32*: add Russo, *Aristofane, autore di teatro*, pp. 85 ff. *P. 38*: it is highly dubious that *Ach.* 483 refers to the actual drawing of a line (γραμμή). The metaphor is common (cf. Starkie *ad loc.*, *Equ.*, 1159, frag. 619 K with Edmonds' note) and may be another parody of a tragic phrase (Eur., *El.*, 955 f. and frag. 169 N). *P. 67*: Rau, if I understand him rightly, seems to imply that the *Andromeda* made use of a contrast between Greek and the broken language of a barbarian, a view for which there is not the least evidence: see Helen Bacon, *Barbarians in Greek Tragedy*, pp. 115-20, 165-7 (and Rau's n. 115 here should contain a reference to C. Robert's edition of Eratosthenes' *Catasterismoi*). *P. 109:* it is possible, but by no means certain that ὑπέρχεσθαι at *Thesm.*, 133 is poetic and therefore points to "eine parodische Inkongruenz." There is nothing poetic about the word in Hdt., VI, 134, 2, which Rau cites or (probably) in Menander, frag. 498 Kock = 431 Körte, which he does not. It would also have been helpful if Nauck's as well as Mette's numbers were given for the fragments of Aeschylus.

Rau's book is a revision of his 1966 Kiel dissertation, and sometimes the dissertational bones protrude, especially in a tendency to belabor or overdocument the obvious. Occasionally a summary of the situation replaces a critical discussion. Surely the audience for which this philological study is intended does not need a three-page statement on the place of the *Helen* in Euripides' work (pp. 53-6); nor does it need to be told that *Thesm.*, 101 f. contains a poetical hyperbaton (p. 104), that compounds like δρυογόνος occur frequently in poetry (p. 105), that ἄνασσα is poetic (p. 105), that γυναικόφωνος is a "nach tragischer Weise gebildete Kompositum" (p. 113).[6] Nor do we need a long note, with references to Diels in *Rheinisches Museum* for 1887 and Dümmler's *Akademika*, for the parody involved in Euripides' oath "by Aether, dwelling place of Zeus" (p. 43, n. 60). I suppose that the ghost of Aristophanes would experience Mnesilochan *gargalismoi* at the solemnity with which it is announced as a "wichtige Einsicht" that "bei Aristophanes die Komik vor einer abgewogenen und konsequenten dramatischen Ökonomie dominiert" (p. 65).

But such a view, as Rau shows, has, alas, not always been so self-evident; and Rau's work testifies and adds to the growing appreciation of Aristophanes' exuberant, yet complex artistry, his bold, but subtle mastery of what F. T. Vischer, quoted by Rau in a happier passage, called the "Reich der kolossalen komischen Wunder" (p. 179). Rau's *Paratragodia* is a welcome and useful tool for our further understanding of the colossus.

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[6] So also p. 117 on *Ran.*, 472; p. 119 on *Ran.*, 125, 496, 587; p. 134 on *Ran.*, 1348 f. and 1350 f.; p. 149 on *Nub.*, 1161; p. 150 on *Nub.*, 1170; p. 156 on *Vesp.*, 1518 and 1520 f. (Pindar, *I.*, 5, I should be added to the former). The list could be easily multiplied.

ANTONIE WLOSOK. Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1967. Pp. 166.

This *Habilitationsschrift*, by a pupil of Viktor Pöschl, is the kind of monograph which one wishes were written more often about the *Aeneid*. The author does not set out to prove a preconceived thesis but offers an extremely sensible, perceptive, and responsible interpretation of the function of Venus especially in Book I of the *Aeneid*. Although her plentiful footnotes indicate a good acquaintance with Vergilian scholarship, Miss Wlosok stays refreshingly close to the text, and she often seems to say the obvious. But then the obvious has never been said before and much of it still needs to be said.

The first chapter of the book is a detailed interpretation of Venus' lament before Jupiter in *Aeneid*, I, 223-53, and of the relation of this speech to the context, particularly Aeneas' monologue (92-101), the exhortation of his companions (198-207), Juno's monologue (37-49), and the reply of Jupiter (254-304). On all these passages Wlosok offers a great number of good observations. She somewhat overemphasizes the Antenor analogy and thinks that Venus' principal motivation is pity and the desire to bring about rest and security for the homeless and disaster-ridden Trojans (p. 59), but it should be noted that Venus speaks also as the ancestress of the Romans and is concerned with their promise of world domination (235-7; *mare* and *terras* are echoed by Jupiter in line 280). This underscores even more poignantly Wlosok's main point here: Venus' failure to grasp the implications of the *labores* of the Trojans. In this respect Venus is corrected by Jupiter—the author rightly notes the relevance of *Georgics*, I, 121-4—whose larger, world-wide conception of peace contrasts with Venus' idyllic understanding of peace as personal happiness in some far-off corner of Italy (p. 70). Wlosok considers this well-founded interpretation of the Antenor exemplum to be incompatible with the general view of Antenor as a *proditor*. In the only excursus of the book (pp. 40-52) she therefore tries to demonstrate that the tradition of Antenor *proditor* basically is post-Vergilian.

Of course this forces her to explain away the versions of Lycophron and Sisenna in a manner reminiscent of Perret's *Quellenkritik*. Since her conclusion cannot really stand on its own merit, she tries to corroborate it with the analogy of the Aeneas *proditor* tradition. Wlosok does not succeed in this because, without saying so, she reverts to the methods of Georgii's *Aeneiskritik*, whereas the more judicious treatment of the question by Ussani is virtually ignored (I miss a reference to G. Walter's *Untersuchungen zur antiken Aeneiskritik*, which is far more relevant than the book by Fuchs referred to on p. 48). Among other things, it should certainly be noted that Dionysius of Halicarnassus felt compelled to quote in detail the *proditor* version of Menecrates and repeatedly urges the reader to decide the matter for himself (*Ant. Rom.*, I, 48). To deny the strength of the *proditor* tradition before Vergil is to subtract one substantial aspect from Vergil's achievement, i. e. his adaptation of a somewhat ambiguous hero. Furthermore, some realization of the existence of this tradition is essential for appreci-

ating Venus' pointed remark *prodimur* (line 252) and her juxtaposition of this with Aeneas' *pietas* (253).

In the second chapter, Wlosok interprets in detail Venus' appearance before Aeneas in the Carthaginian forest (I, 305-417). The perception of her observations again is impressive and even extends to metrical and syntactical analysis (especially of lines 415-17 on pp. 89-100). It is not often that one finds such a fortunate and diligent penetrating of formal details to elucidate the meaning of the immediate and larger context. Wlosok rightly stresses that the aphrodisiac aspects of Venus are completely deemphasized and that she speaks and acts primarily as the Aeneadic ancestress. Contrary to the frequently voiced opinion that this whole scene has virtually no function, Wlosok convincingly relates the complaint of Aeneas to the earlier one of Venus (there are many parallels), and she points out the relation of Venus' endeavor to Mercury's mission in Book IV and Jupiter's speech earlier in Book I. Venus anticipates Dido's helpfulness; moreover, Wlosok could have emphasized the similarity of Venus' epiphany (I, 412 ff.) and Aeneas' (I, 586 ff.) rather than relegating this to a footnote in the first chapter in an entirely different context (p. 70, n. 90).

The third chapter is a discussion of the role of Venus with reference to the entire *Aeneid*. Here it is regrettable that the author did not see fit to discuss Venus' pleas in Books V and X; only a few remarks on X, 46-54 are found on p. 109. Rather, Wlosok writes on the relation of Vergil's Venus to the literary models—her discussion of Athena in the *Odyssey* unfortunately is very superficial since the author does not seem to know of Stanford's *Ulysses Theme*—and then goes on to investigate the relation between Juno's and Venus' actions. The conclusion imposes itself; both stand for different aspects of the divine, and Venus tries to undo Juno's actions (pp. 112-16). As the *Aeneid* is not poetry *per se* but reflects Roman customs and religion, Wlosok commendably discusses the relation of Vergil's Venus to the Roman Venus cult and its history. Her command of the relevant scholarship and her judicious choice of emphasis are impressive as is the economy of her treatment of this variegated subject. She rightly places the emphasis on the importance of the Eryx cult, but there is absolutely no evidence nor likelihood that the Venus in Ardea and Lavinium was *Aeneadum genetrix* already at the time of the Latin League. Venus in the *Aeneid* also is Venus *victrix*, and Wlosok illustrates this convincingly in her interpretation of VIII, 520-40, and of the shield which Venus gives Aeneas. The final, historical victory of Augustus is also the fulfillment of Venus' plea in Book I. Wlosok correctly interprets the sign of Venus as the call to a sacred war against the *superbi* and stresses the importance of Pallas' comparison to *Lucifer . . . quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis* (VIII, 589-90); these points and others are important for a balanced interpretation of the *Aeneid's* final scene (Wlosok, however, seems to have read neither Putnam's nor, more regrettably, Otis' book). She concludes (p. 127) that the manifestations of Venus in II and VIII correspond to those of Juno in I and VII, but it is unfortunate that there is no real discussion of Venus' role in Book II.

In her summation on the significance of the goddess in the *Aeneid*

(pp. 139-46) Wlosok makes the excellent point that Venus has to give up her ideals, which are also those of the Vergilian hero, of *placida quies* and *otium* and conforms to the Julian/Roman Venus. This, however, applies chiefly to Book VIII (and, to a lesser degree, Book XII) and not to the entire second half, as Wlosok claims, because Venus is still concerned with her old ideals in Book X. This continuing tension in fact makes Venus even more similar to Aeneas than Wlosok realizes; her definition of Aeneas' role in *Aeneid* VII-XII as "nur noch Träger seines Amtes" (p. 144) is too one-sided. Wlosok might also have pointed out the inversion of Venus' ideal of *placida pax (placida . . . pace quiescit*, I, 249) and *placida quies* (I, 691) in the Nisus-Euryalus episode where *placida quiete* (IX, 187) becomes *placida . . . morte quievit* (IX, 445). Even more pointedly Venus, *Aeneae genetrix pulcherrima*, finally asks Aeneas to destroy the city of Latinus (XII, 554-9) which now is called *impune quietam* whereas it had originally been introduced as one of the *urbes . . . longa placidas in pace* (VII, 44-5). Wlosok concludes with the observation that Venus in the *Aeneid* is even more than the Julian *genetrix*. Her very nature compels her to be the mediatrix between god and men; she is the goddess "die sich für das dem Menschen 'eingeborene Urbild seiner Art' (E. R. Curtius) einsetzt" (p. 146).

As can be seen, Wlosok's book is by no means an exhaustive study of the subject, but it is eminently suggestive and provides a springboard of ideas for supplemental studies in this important aspect of the *Aeneid*. The criticisms and disagreements I have voiced should not at all obscure the fact that this is a sensible, well-written, and useful work, and the reader will benefit especially from the many fine individual observations in this exemplary *explication de texte* in spite of the author's tendency for overdocumentation.

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Luigi Moretti. Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche. Testo critico, traduzione e commento. Vol. I: Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia. Florence, "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1967. Pp. xv + 177. Lire 2,500. (*Biblioteca di Studi Superiori*, LIII.)

This choice collection of epigraphical texts will be welcomed not only by students in course, whom the author has had particularly in mind, but by scholars and researchers generally. The inscriptions are given in full, with translation, commentary (largely historical), and apparatus criticus. The bibliographical aids are models of succinct yet ample documentation, and Moretti has a masterly grasp of what has been written, as well as a judicious and conservative evaluation of the historical contribution made by each text. Every document, in its own way, is of telling significance. It is a striking testimonial to the continued progress of our discipline that so much of the evidence is new, not available in earlier collections like Dit-

tenberger's *Sylloge*, simply because the stones have been discovered since that fundamental work was published.

Of the seventy inscriptions here presented, thirty-five are from Attica (ranging in date from 323 to 168 B. C.), twenty-five are from the Peloponnesus (late fourth century to 102 B. C.), and the remaining ten are from Boeotia (third and early second century). It is the author's intention to extend the scope of the work with a second volume covering central and northern Greece, to which will be added indexes of persons and places and an epigraphical lexicon. The excellence of volume I makes our anticipation of volume II all the more keen. *Fortuna fausta sit.*

A number of minor lapses should be noted, like Keramopoulos for Keramopoullos in the apparatus for No. 8; Φίλινος should be accented Φιλῖνος in No. 10, line 11; it was W. B. Dinsmoor and not Ferguson who made the *editio princeps* of No. 18; παρειληφῶς should be παρειληφώς in No. 23, line 32; λάχοντας should read λαχόντας in No. 28, line 28, and in No. 34, line 17 (it is correctly given elsewhere); and ἐπιμελετάς should read ἐπιμελητάς in No. 5, line 17. An orthographical curiosity has been lost from the text of No. 25 since its first publication by Phoibos D. Stavropoullos: the name of the archon in line 1 upon the stone was spelled Ἐκχφάντου.

Moretti has not hesitated to make improvements of his own in editing the texts, and his opinions always deserve respect. This is especially apparent in his handling of No. 5, a stoichedon text of 41 letters in each line, where Moretti has restored the correct number of letters in lines 10, 11, 20, and 23, in place of the supplements suggested by L. Robert which range from 40 to 43 letters. In an inscription where there are otherwise no observable irregularities this is in principle the better epigraphical method. He has, however, adopted from Robert a criterion which is not binding for the restoration of lines 21-2, where the restorations of Ferguson do not seem to the present reviewer in need of change. It is of no consequence that mention of the sacrifice precedes mention of the festival procession, in spite of Moretti's note: "ma nota giustamente Rob. che la πομπή precede, non segue la θυσία." The sequence of the events in real life is not necessarily reflected by the order of their mention on the stone. One has only to recall the interchangeable formulae for making and inscribing stelai, e. g.: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴμ ποίησιν (τῆς στήλης) (*I.G.*, II², 668, lines 36-7) and εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στ[ήλης καὶ τὴν ἀναγ]ραφήν (*Hesperia*, XVII [1948], pp. 17-19, No. 9, lines 22-3). Similar variations occur in the formulae for the inscription (ἀναγραφή) and the erection (ἀνάθεσις) of stelai.

The pace of epigraphical study and discovery is so rapid that commentary is frequently soon outdated. Moretti's No. 20 of the archonship of Philinos belongs to 254/3 on the evidence of a new text found in the summer of 1968 in the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. I, 7043, now in *Hesperia*, XXXVIII [1969], pp. 418-20), and a new archon Aristion is now known for the year 238/7 from an Eleusinian text published by Eugene Vanderpool (Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, XXIII [1968], pp. 3-6). Aristion displaces Phanostratos from 238/7. Indeed, since Philinos has already displaced Philostratos from 254/3, the archons

Philostratos, Antimachos, Phanostratos, and Pheidostratos from the much discussed base at Rhamnous honoring Kallisthenes of Prospalta (now No. 26 in Moretti's collection) must all be reassigned, presumably to the years of Demetrios II of Macedon in the late 30's of the third century (see now *Hesperia,* XXXVIII [1969], pp. 434-5). The sequence of these archons remains the same, but the career of Kallisthenes is much condensed.

Another of Moretti's texts (No. 55) gives the copy erected in Stymphalos of a decree of Elatea thanking the Stymphalians for their aid in the early second century in restoring to Elatea her city, her land, and her ancestral laws. The citizens had fled to Stymphalos after the capture of the city by Flamininus in 198 B. C. Much has been made of the text of line 13: *τάν τε π[ό]λιν καὶ τ[ὰν] χ[ώ]ραν καὶ τοὺς δούλους*. But there were no δοῦλοι. The word cut on the stone is *νόμους*, and the commentary on this line must now be read in the account by Günther Klaffenbach in *B. C. H.*, XCII (1968), pp. 257-9, where the correct reading, confirmed by Georges Daux, is given.

The translations of the texts are admirably made, and are in themselves a valuable commentary. The notes and formal commentary guide the reader who wishes to pursue his study further. Special mention should be made of No. 44, the alliance between Antigonos and Demetrios and the Greeks in 303/2, and of No. 43, with its discussion of the arbitration of a territorial dispute between Epidauros and Hermione in the early second century. The whole volume is beautifully printed by Industria Grafica L'Impronta in Florence in a format both attractive and convenient to use. The editor is fortunate who can have such printing at his disposal, and congratulations are due to the press as well as to the author and to the general editor of the series to which this volume belongs, Professor Arnaldo Momigliano of London and Pisa.

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Paul Petit. La paix romaine. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1967. Pp. 414. 24 Fr. (*Nouvelle Clio: l'Histoire et ses Problèmes*, 9.)

In attempting to cover within a single volume the vast topic of the Roman Empire from 31 B. C. to A. D. 193, Professor Petit has adopted a somewhat unusual structure for his book. There are three parts: *Les moyens de la recherche,* comprising 44 pp. of bibliography and 35 pp. of chronological tables; *Nos connaissances* (four chapters—*La paix romaine, Le gouvernement et l'administration, La vie économique et sociale,* and *La vie religieuse*); and *La Problématique* (also four chapters—*Les problèmes politiques, Société et économie, Les grands secteurs économiques,* and *Société et civilisation*); this is followed by a short concluding chapter *Sur la notion de crise.* The idea of separating what we know from what

we do not know, or know only hazily, is at first sight paedagogically appealing, but brief reflection will show that it is almost impossible to do this rigorously for most aspects of the early Empire without repetition or incoherence. Furthermore, on close examination *connaissances* will often reveal themselves as no more than dogmatic assertions of opinion.

The bibliographic section is extremely useful, since it is both copious (there are over 700 items) and analytical; also, each item is assigned a number to simplify citation in the latter parts of the book, and this system, infuriating when footnotes consist of nothing but a series of numbers, is intelligently used, since the author's name and a short version of the title is also given in any citation. This section includes only major modern works (prior to 1939 only *ouvrages de base*, and prior to 1955 only *l'essentiel*), and it is supplemented in the footnotes by several hundred other works. The only peculiarities noted were that numbers 67 and 324 refer to the same work, and that Charlesworth's *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (item 54) is cited only in a French translation. The most valuable single aspect of the Bibliography is the inclusion of 29 items by Soviet scholars, and about a dozen more from other East European countries; the conclusions of these, of especial importance for the eastern frontier and Parthia, are analysed and included in the subsequent text, and appear to justify fully the conclusions reached by H. F. Graham in his article on the study of ancient history in the U. S. S. R. (*C. W.*, LXI [1967], pp. 85-97). It is clear that there is as great a need for abstracts and translations of E. European and Soviet work in ancient history as in other fields.

Chronological Tables are inevitably somewhat subjective, and in the absence of argumentation must appear dogmatic. However, the following omissions are regrettable: 29 B. C.: no mention of a *lectio senatus*, while those of 18 and 11 B. C. are included; A. D. 42: the revolt of Scribonianus; A. D. 55: the fall of Pallas; A. D. 83: Domitian's triumph over the Chatti; A. D. 97: the rising of the Praetorians which led to the adoption of Trajan; A. D. 162: the formal declaration of war by Vologases III of Parthia. Open to question are: 25 B. C.: Livy commences his History; A. D. 63: annexation of the kingdom of Pontus; A. D. 70: the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* is unlikely to be subsequent to his arrival in Rome; A. D. 84: there is no evidence of Domitian's use of the title *censor perpetuus* until 85; A. D. 85: why this date for the execution of Flavius Sabinus? 84 is usually given, but there is no firm date within 84-87. Also, there is no certain conspiracy aginst Domitian until 87 (*pace* Petit, who gives one in 83, cf. *Act. Fr. Arv.* 22 September, 87), and Sabinus may conceivably have perished because of it. Definitely inaccurate are the following: A. D. 13: final revision of the *Res Gestae* (cf. *R. G.*, 4, 4); A. D. 14: death of Augustus on 24th August (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 100—19th August); A. D. 69: death of Vitellius in October (cf. Tac., *Hist.*, III, 85; Suet., *Vit.*, 17: December, during the Flavian capture of Rome).

The section entitled *Nos connaissances* is rather unsatisfactory. In only a few areas of policy are attempts made to differentiate the practices of various Principes or dynasties, and since the main

aim, avowed in the Introduction (p. 2), is to present a generalised description of a period lasting over two centuries, we are left with a picture sharp in some details, but with a generally blurred background; no real impression is given of the effects of individual Principes on day-to-day administration: the government machine is seen almost as a separate entity with a life of its own, like the French civil service during the Fourth Republic. Emphasis is almost invariably placed on the 2nd century, with Hadrian the favourite Princeps (of Trajan [p. 157], we hear of *l'étroitesse de ses conceptions*, and of Marcus Aurelius [p. 247], that his "over-education" *stérilisa son imagination*). Furthermore, was Agrippa Postumus Augustus' chosen heir (p. 133)? Did Augustus refuse the title *Romulus* in 27 B. C. because it was too "royal"? (p. 189; cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, XII, 45, 2). In this section too, the works of scholars and even ancient sources are often referred to without annotation (e. g. pp. 133, 169, 178, 185, 191, 192), while on p. 130 there is a reference to Pliny, *Ep.*, III, 56, which does not exist. The explanation of *tributum capitis* (p. 144) is inadequate and in a work whose author feels constrained to describe as *chose étonnante* the fact that the Roman army was commanded by amateurs (p. 103), there should be some explanation of *questeurs propréteurs* (p. 141). However, there is much that is commendable in this section, especially succinct summaries of the Armenian problem from Tiberius to Nero (p. 120), and the question of industrial production and the decline of Italy in the 2nd century (p. 167); there are also very useful illustrations of the senatorial and equestrian *cursus* (pp. 146, 148).

The final and longest section (170 pp.), dealing with problems, is much the best part of the work. Annotation is copious, careful, and relevant; for the most part Petit demonstrates exemplary caution and avoids dogmatism, especially when handling recent theories: for example, discussing small landowners in connection with *alimenta*, he asks if there were many *decuriones* among them; he quotes one opinion that there were, and then adds that another, opposing opinion *semble meilleure* (p. 317, n. 6). The following are some of the points that seem especially thoughtful or well-put: was the *lex de imperio Vespasiani* obtained at the Princeps' behest or the senate's? (p. 236); we should remember that many so-called "provincial" senatorial families were the descendants of Italian émigrés (p. 261); the development of an E-W trade axis the length of the Danube was the most important economic fact of the 2nd century, with immense consequences in the 3rd (pp. 344-5); *pace* Marxist historians, the Roman world was a world of freedmen rather than slaves, and the cause of stagnation was not slavery, but shortage of man-power and the level of life of slave and *colonus* alike (pp. 374-7). While one may take issue with certain statements in this section, e. g. that Tacitus is "more and more suspect" (p. 251), and that there was no opposition to the regime as such, but only to individual Principes (p. 264), the only discussion which seems thoroughly misconceived is that dealing with the powers of Augustus (pp. 210-20): for example, examining the nature of the *imperium* whereby Augustus governed his province after January 27 B. C. (pp. 212 ff.), Petit says that if it was proconsular, its combination

with consular *imperium* was illegal and contrary to "republican legality" and the *mos maiorum* (what of the sole consul of 52 B. C.?); if it was consular, then it was a pre-Sullan type of *imperium* and was "fossilised" (did Augustus learn nothing from Cicero in 44/43 B. C.? Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, VIII, 15, 3; *Phil.*, IV, 4, 9). In the main, however, this section provides a useful counter to the cheerful air of omniscience displayed by so many general accounts of the early Principate; not only is modern ignorance frequently acknowledged, but precise topics are delineated where research needs are greatest.

Students at all levels should find much in this book that is both stimulating and valuable. It is attractively produced, misprints are few and trivial, and there are useful maps and an adequate index. An English edition would be worthwhile and most welcome.

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H. W. PARKE. Greek Oracles. London, Hutchinson University Library, 1967. Pp. 160; 2 maps. 25s.

H. W. PARKE. The Oracles of Zeus: Dodona · Olympia · Ammon. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967. Pp. x + 294; 4 pls. $9.95.

Professor Parke has devoted himself to the study of Greek oracles. In 1939 he published *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (republished with revisions as volume I of *The Delphic Oracle* in 1956, volume II being a corpus of Delphic responses in collaboration with D. E. W. Wormell). Now, nearly simultaneously, he has published two books in this field, a short survey, intended for the general reader, of all Greek oracles, and a more thorough work on the oracles of Zeus at Dodona, Olympia, and Ammon.

Fully half of *Greek Oracles* is given to Delphi. Parke is now more cautious about accepting responses quoted in Greek and Latin literature as authentic. Still, he is more credulous than he should be, and is inclined to make ill-considered judgments on the genuineness of particular responses. For example, he accepts the response (or refusal of response, yet spoken in hexameters) made to Calondas Corax, killer of Archilochus, because "the very improbability of the tale . . . makes it unlikely that it was simply invented, . . ." (p. 60). The tale of Laius and Oedipus is also improbable; are its oracles therefore likely to be genuine? The Archilochus story is one of a recurring type about the guilt that the killer of a bard incurs because he has slain a servant of the Muses. In a similar story the Sybarites killed a citharode at Hera's altar, and the Pythia refused them a response, making clear how heinous was their crime (Ael., *V. H.*, III, 43). The story is told of any servant of the gods, as of the Metragyrtes whom the Athenians killed; when plague came on the land the Pythia told them to appease the mur-

dered man (Jul., *Or.*, V, 159b). It is a moral tale, as is that of Glaucus Epicydes' son, which ends with a response that Parke also accepts (pp. 99-100). Glaucus asked Apollo whether he might swear falsely for gain, and received both permission and rebuke from the god. This tale is a fable that ends with the moral "the attempt is equal to the deed." Surely no Greek would ever ask such a question at Delphi.

In general Parke does not comprehend the ways of myth and folktale. He does not perceive that the oracles given to Sparta on Tegea and Orestes' bones in Herodotus' tale have all the traits of folktale prophecies. Here Parke forgets what he has meantime learned from Amandry and goes back to the conventional rationalistic interpretation, that Pythia and prophets delivered ambiguous prophecies capable of "ingenious reinterpretation[s]" when events did not turn out as predicted. No such prophecies were ever spoken at Delphi: its pronouncements were confined to sanctions and to cult and ritual prescriptions—as Parke is inclined to grant for much of its activity. How the stories of marvelous ambiguous prophecies arose is another matter; the fact is that they are stories.

Although Parke does not believe in the oracular chasm from which vapors arose, he accepts as true most other conventional fancies about Delphic operations. What evidence is there that the Pythia went into "a mediumistic trance" or into any trance at all? She went through some show of receiving inspiration, but that is not trance. And certainly there is no evidence for the common explanation of mantic procedure at Delphi according to which the Pythia made incoherent and confused statements which the prophets interpreted, finally delivering well phrased (though ambiguous) hexameters to the enquirer. In all accounts, historical or fictitious, the Pythia always speaks directly to the consultant after hearing his question. So Amandry has pointed out.

Parke has accepted Amandry's theory of two kinds of Delphic response, the traditional oracle spoken by the Pythia under Apollo's inspiration, and a lot oracle, less expensive, for the general run of enquirers, who received a yes-or-no answer—and Parke finds a parallel between Delphi and Dodona in use of lots. But I find this suggestion dubious, since we are always told for all types of response that the god or the Pythia spoke. The evidence for lots is inconclusive at best. The Athenian consultation on the Eleusinian *orgas* is a special case and does not really fit the theory: there the Pythia indicated one of two urns, each containing a metal plate on which several words were written. When the Pythia chose tribe eponyms for Cleisthenes, and when she drew Aleuas' name for Thessalian king (p. 86), she drew names and not lots labeled "yes" or "no." The two beans of the Sciathus convention (p. 85) must, I think, have another meaning than that of oracular lots. If Amandry and Parke are right, then we should expect some *no* answers to the question, "Is it better and preferable that, etc.?"; but the answer in every case known is *yes*, or rather an affirmative answer couched in the words of the question.

Chapter 4 on "Primitive Delphi" were better omitted. Parke constantly fumbles myths and the kind of material that he must deal with here. He considers it a "curious fact that the dragon in

the *Homeric Hymn* is female . . . ," and adds that she changes sex to male in later accounts, taking the name Python. So other scholars have expressed the matter too; but they and Parke fail to see that the Delphic myth had both a male and a female dragon, and that the male dragon is present in the *Hymn* under the name of Typhaon. On what grounds can Parke say that the Argonautic legend " was originally an epic of Thessaly dating back to Mycenaean times . . ." ? Was there an Argonautic epic before Apollonius Rhodius? And does not epic arise out of legend rather than the other way? And what evidence is there for an origin in Mycenaean times of either legend or epic?

Errors are numerous and I can mention only a few. Parke translates *oneiropolos* in *Iliad*, I, 63, as " dreamer of dreams " (p. 13). Sparta is, perhaps inadvertently, placed in the neighborhood of Delphi (p. 49). Thessaly is called a state (p. 64). The Delphic festival Septerion is misnamed *Stepteria* (p. 36). What reason is there to say that Xenophon's " treatment of the oracle " was insincere (p. 113, with reference to *Anab.*, III, 1, 5)? Xenophon's form of question was conventional, as also was that which Socrates suggested. Didyma, greatest Apolline oracle after Delphi, receives no treatment; it is hardly mentioned.

The Oracles of Zeus purports to be a thorough study of the three Zeus oracles. It is a disappointing book: Parke's treatment is both superficial and confusing, as in his discussion of the mode of divination at Dodona. He does not define clearly the limits of our knowledge nor does he show much insight into what evidence there is, and again he is unskilful in dealing with myth and legend. He rather gives up on the oak leaves, although he supposes a single tree that lived many centuries, like Frazer's oak at Nemi, and conjectures that the use of lots began when the tree died. He is sure that *phēgos* means oak; but the commonest tree at Dodona is the beech, as any visitor may observe. Parke points to the bronze leaves and nuts at Dodona identified as oak leaves and acorns, but in such representations would not beech and oak look much alike?

He refers frequently to a strong rivalry between Delphi and Dodona. There is no real evidence of it: the appearance of both in versions of the Argonautic and Deucalion legends is probably due to story-tellers rather than to aggressive propaganda. A Greek consulted the most available shrine, and Dodona was difficult to reach. A wealthy man might consult two or more oracles if he could. King Agesipolis of Sparta consulted both Olympia and Delphi on the Argives' proclamation of a sacred truce (387 B. C.; Xen., *Hell.*, IV, 7, 2). Parke adheres to what I believe is a misinterpretation of Agesipolis' question as Xenophon reports it, saying that Agesipolis asked Apollo whether the son's opinion was the same as the father's; this is only Xenophon's way of saying that Agesipolis asked the same question at Delphi as at Olympia.

There are too many errors and dubious statements to deal with here. Certainly nobody maintains that the Selloi were " the ultimate source of the tribe which gave its name to the classical Greeks " (p. 8). They mean only that *Selloi* (= *Helloi*) is a possible cognate of *Hellēnes*. The matricide Alcmaeon is constantly called Amphion (p. 173).

Not only is the content of these two books faulty, but the writing is most reprehensible. Infelicities of phrasing and word choice, awkward expressions, useless paraphrases, badly organized sentences, and faulty syntactic structures abound, present on every page. Many sentences are simply baffling: they start out saying one thing and end up saying another; some sentences say something rather different from what the author apparently intended. For example, "the temple (at Didyma) shared in the ravaging of Miletus" (*G. O.*, p. 101) appears to tell us that the cult officials helped the Persians sack the city; but Parke means that the temple was sacked too. After Alexander "[the centre of gravity of the Greek world] Instead of being based in Hellas, . . . was now spread over much of nearer Asia and into Egypt" (*G. O.*, p. 121). "In particular [Ovid] is probably responsible for the prophetic oak derived from that of Dodona" (*O. Z.*, p. 28), which seems to have the Roman poet either planting a tree on Aegina or placed in charge of it. "The method of the oracles in Egyptian Thebes and at Dodona happens to be similar to each other" (*O. Z.*, p. 55). ". . . the Chorus in the *Alcestis* lament that there is no place to which one can send on a voyage to rescue the life of one doomed to die" (*O. Z.*, p. 212). Syntax seems tangled in "The description ends by saying that it was told that to Germanicus his approaching death was foretold in riddles as is the wont of oracles" (*G. O.*, pp. 137-8); the text for this is "et ferebatur Germanico per ambages, ut mos oraculis, maturum exitum cecinisse," the subject being the prophet at Claros (Tac., *Ann.*, II, 54).

These sentences are not unrepresentative: there are hundreds like them. The vocabulary and syntax of abstractese (sociologese) pervade the whole of both works. Parke's favorite word is "picture," both noun and verb; it occurs at least once on nearly every page in both books. He speaks of "the 'hundred entrances' through which Vergil pictured the Sibyl's voice as issuing. Of course, in actual practice, if she is to be pictured as prophesying from the innermost chamber, etc." (*G. O.*, p. 53). As noun "picture" does the work of image, account, description, view, statement, problem, story, sight, feature, conclusion, evidence, condition, suggestion, discussion; as verb it serves for represent, view, suppose, imagine, show, tell, assert, mention, conjecture. Another favorite is "idea," used loosely for any mental act or product: conception, thought, view, belief, image, conjecture, suggestion, tradition, story, attribution. It overlaps with "picture" to some extent. "Describe" is a favorite verb, used for "narrate" and "designate." As in all such writing there is a great deal of "basis," "involve" and "involving," "to figure," "on the part of," "to feel" (for believe, think, etc.), "area" as maid of all work for any tract of land or topic of discourse, "reaction," "exist" for "there is, are," "stem from" (a hideous Germanism), "proceeds to," and "the one[s]" as demonstrative pronoun ("the ones which" for "those which"). Parke likes "a couple of" for "two"; "so as to" for introducing the infinitive of purpose; "suits with," where "with" is otiose; the future perfect to express past probability (unpleasant when frequent), dangling modifiers, fused participles (see Fowler), impersonal expression, passive voice in preference to active, and

parentheses around separate sentences (a reprehensible practice). He often uses the wrong preposition, as "to identify his own document from that of others" (*O. Z.*, p. 195), which may also be considered a bad choice of verb. Parke is also guilty of "different than" (*O. Z.*, p. 85).

Parke's translations of texts are purposely very literal and nearly word for word, but παρὰ σφέας cannot mean "with them" at Herod., II, 55, 1; in fact, the translation "and the one of them (doves) arrived in Libya and the other with them" makes little sense. For Parke, as for many students, particles mean "indeed": περ, ἤτοι, γε μήν, and others are so rendered, and also *vero* at Cic., *Div.*, I, 1, 3 and I, 34, 76. Parke seems unaware that *vero* is a conjunction and usually means "but."

Careless errors abound: "Fraser" for "Frazer" (Sir James G.) several times (e. g., *O. Z.*, p. 23), "Orthys" for "Othrys" (*O. Z.*, p. 41), "to prophecy" (*O. Z.*, p. 64), "either Delphi or Olympia were" (*O. Z.*, p. 188); "Georg Daux" (*O. Z.*, p. 218). Perhaps "augers'" and "Bacchaute" (*G. O.*, pp. 14, 40) can be called printer's errors, but we can only conclude that the author did not read either his typescript or his proofs. Punctuation is very erratic: there is none when it is needed, and it appears when it isn't needed, even wrong. Parke reverses the rule about commas before relative clauses: he puts them before defining clauses and omits them before descriptive clauses. Although it is his practice to use the Latinized spelling of Greek names he sometimes takes to mixed forms, e. g., *Coiranus, Thrasyboulus, Evandros.* I do not understand why he did not make it either *Coeranus* or *Koiranos*; and if his usual practice is to Latinize, why didn't he adhere to that throughout?

Parke's *The Delphic Oracle* had the advantage of editing at Blackwell's: in spite of some rough passages and pedestrian prose, it is generally clear in expression and free of gross faults. But obviously Parke was content with first hasty drafts of these two books and sent them off without revision or correction; and apparently neither Hutchinson nor Blackwell, the English publisher of *The Oracles of Zeus*, did any editorial work on the manuscripts. It is also apparent that neither publisher referred them to an expert reader. One wonders why not. The manifold faults of *Greek Oracles* vitiate its worth for the educated reader of books in the Hutchinson University Library. From *The Oracles of Zeus* the reader may derive some profit: a survey of Dodona's role in Greek history and literature, a summary description of the site with illustrations, bibliography, citations of sources, a selection of lead-tablet enquiries (Appendix I) made at Dodona. It is not, however, provided with maps and plans, which would be useful. Parke is better on Dodona, to which he has given much attention, than on Olympia and Ammon, to each of which he devotes a single unsatisfactory chapter.

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ROGER A. HORNSBY. Reading Latin Poetry. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1967. Pp. xiv + 272. $5.95.

This book is built on the assumption that the Romans have contributed something more lasting than roads and something of greater relevance to the modern world than Roman military history (as important as these contributions may be) and that is Roman poetry, but that too often Roman poetry has not been presented to the student as something valuable in and of itself but rather "to subserve the cause of history in a way irrelevant to itself and pernicious ultimately to history" (p. vii). There is, in Hornsby's view, an important role for the modern literary critic to perform for Latin poetry, and this should be done by a classicist rather than by a teacher or critic of English literature. Roger Hornsby, aware as he is of modern critical literary methods and firmly grounded in the classics, has tried to do with *Reading Latin Poetry* what Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren have done in *Understanding Poetry* for English poetry. Hornsby insists, and I think rightly so, that reading or translating poetry is not the same thing as understanding poetry.

Obviously poetry is one of the great creative activities of man and in our time great attention and many funds are being expended to promote the creative talents of young and old alike. The role of the creative arts in education is more and more being stressed at all levels of education. Poetry, as a creative art, is by no means a monopoly of modern times and Latin poetry in particular has much to offer the modern student who is looking for the relevant and the creative, for "a poem is a statement in words about human experience," though Hornsby is quick to point out that not every statement is about human experience. T. S. Eliot has said (in "Poetry and Drama" in *On Poetry and Poets* [London, 1957]) that "It is a function of all art to give us some perception of an order in life, by imposing an order upon it" (*op. cit.*, p. 86) and he adds, "For it is ultimately the function of art, in imposing a credible order *in* reality, to bring us to a condition of serenity, stillness, and reconciliation; and then leave us, as Virgil left Dante, to proceed toward a region where that guide can avail us no farther" (*op. cit.*, p. 87). Hornsby would go further (p. 4) and say that

> A poem . . . is a rational statement about human experience which judges the experience and communicates the feeling which the understanding should elicit. Poetry finds its deepest source in the human impulse to communicate thoughts, feelings, and attitudes, matters which concern all of us most of the time and which engage our passionate attention. The desire to speak of what intensely concerns us comes from our even more passionate desire to understand ourselves and our world, to make sense of our experiences and our feelings, to create order out of chaos. The greatest poetry precisely does this; it gives us insight into ourselves and the world.

This is probably the most important statement that the author makes in the entire book. The relevance of the poetic experience is clearly indicated. Poetry is not mere literary decoration, nor is it, as is

often mistakenly supposed, an expression of pure emotion; it is not something apart from human life but very much a part of it. Nor is a poem merely a combination of meter, figurative language, and ideas, but all these elements are in an integral, proper relationship to each other. The really great poem is not exhausted by any particular interpretation or analysis but continues to yield more every time it is read. If there is a weakness in Hornsby's approach, it is that many of his general remarks can apply as readily to great prose literature as they do to poetry. Poetry, to justify itself, must be able to do what no other literary form can do. No doubt poetry is the most concentrated of literary forms. Latin poetry is no exception. Hornsby's book is thus unique for Latin students and teachers because it seeks to approach Latin poetry *as poetry* and not as grammar, history, geography, or what have you; and what is learned here can be readily applied, in general terms, to the reading of all poetry.

Reading Latin Poetry contains over one hundred poems from such authors as Vergil, Ovid, Catullus, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Seneca, Petronius, Martial, and Statius, but omits, what some critics would consider one of the greatest (the late Joshua Whatmough used to consider him *the* greatest) of the Latin poets, Lucretius. But be that as it may, the presentation is not organized in the way familiar to most classics teachers (by authors or genres, for example) but by topics such as "The Dramatic Nature of Poetry," "Res Metrica," "Descriptive Poems," "Imagery and Figurative Language," "Rhetorical Figures in Poetry," "Theme and Statement," and "Evaluation." Each of these topics involves a chapter with Latin poems from various Latin authors. The poems are preceded by a brief general discussion, each poem is followed by notes indicating the meter and explaining certain points (usually grammatical), there is for each poem a section with questions pertinent to a critical understanding of the poem, and in the case of some poems (e. g. Horace, *Ode*, III, 29) with extended analysis that demonstrates how a poem may be understood. The section with the questions (e. g. p. 55: What is the function of the dramatic situation of the poem? How closely is it connected with the descriptive parts?) is undoubtedly the most important feature of the whole book for the teacher in performing his maieutic task and for the student in learning in the Socratic manner. Throughout, the whole purpose is to get the teacher to teach poetry and the student to learn how to understand poetry. The glossary at the end of the book is incomplete but useful (e. g., synecdoche is included but not metonomy).

The author has used this book in his own classes with marked success. There is more than enough material in the book for one semester's work. Ideally a full academic year would be required to do the book complete justice. It is the impression of this reviewer that the experiment would be well worth it. The teacher could use this book as an anthology of Latin literature, if he wished, in an introduction to Latin literature course or he could use it as the basis for a seminar in Latin literary criticism. No analysis as presented in this text is proposed as exhaustive and no substitutes or excuses are made for a close and accurate knowledge of the Latin language,

but the author rightly wants both the teacher and the student to go beyond "the translating stage," to get them "to see the poem as it is and to recognize that it is a serious and intelligent attempt to bring order out of chaos, to make sense out of experience" (p. 152). Through careful direction and guidance and by critical examination of Latin poetry as poetry there can finally be developed in the student the ability to make a valid judgment about a given poem, to provide him with the capacity to distinguish between what is worth attention, what is not, and why not, as well as to increase his appreciation and enjoyment of poetry.

Thus, *Reading Latin Poetry* is a significant contribution to developing a sound pedagogy for promoting Latin poetry as poetry and is an excellent source for the illustration of the humanism of the Romans. It is certainly powerful evidence that the Romans contributed a significant body of poetry that is relevant and still worthy of study in a liberal arts tradition and, as such, with Cicero in the *Pro Archia* we can say, "Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum; at haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

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JEAN-PAUL REY-COQUAIS. Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Tome VI: Baalbek et Beqa' (Nos. 2711-3017). Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1967. Pp. 302; 58 pls.; 3 maps. 80 Fr. (*Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique,* Tome LXXVIII.)

In the ninth year after the appearance of Volume V of this distinguished series, and in the seventh year after the still-regretted death of Father Mouterde who had been actively engaged with it from its beginning, we have to welcome a new volume under the direction of Claude Mondésert and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, with the latter assuming the proximate rôle of editor. The quality of the publication is further assured by the list of distinguished scholars whose aid is acknowledged in the preface and frequently mentioned elsewhere: Courby, Le Rider, Pflaum, Robert, Seyrig. With these collaborators, it is evident that the three hundred plus inscriptions published herewith will be not only correctly read and restored but also fully exploited for their historical and other interest. Few epigraphical publications can have enjoyed the benefit of as much talent.

And it is, in fact, a sumptuous volume. It includes not only all of the extant inscriptions of Baalbek and vicinity, which are reproduced in the plates, but all those which were seen by earlier explorers but which have now disappeared. It goes without saying that the editing is exemplary. In addition, there are forty pages

of introduction, which give an account of the earlier epigraphical exploration of the area, a physical description of it illustrated both by maps and by photographs, and an outline history of it from the beginnings to Christian times, with other epigraphical references to it from elsewhere. This is epigraphy at its best.

The most interesting texts are those from Baalbek-Heliopolis itself, which had become Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Heliopolis some time in the first century (probably); the earliest inscriptions date from the reign of Nero (nos. 2786/87). In the arrangement, three are dedications in Latin to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Venus, and Mercury, eighteen (of which five are in Greek) to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and a few to other deities; a detailed discussion of the cults is reserved by the editors for another occasion. Then there are inscriptions honoring emperors and officials, of which much the most important is the well-known career of Velius Rufus, who served in military and civil posts under Vespasian and his sons (no. 2796). The rest, except for two late epigrams concerning hydraulic operations, are small: funerary, building notations, and late Christian, together with the expected group of fragments. In this group, wherein I count seventeen previously unpublished dedications, there is a good deal of important information on the colony. As would be expected, veterans are prominent, the language is predominantly Latin, and the priests are citizens with Italian names. Their tribe is the Fabian. On the other hand, the Greek dedications show the continued existence of the earlier population, and it is not quite true that "L'emploi du grec signale une dédicace privée" (on no. 2727), for the following dedication is made by a *bouleutes* named Crescens.

The rest of the volume is occupied by inscriptions from other places in the Beqa', most of them funerary, but there are some interesting dedications, including the long-known record of road construction by the colony under the governor Decimus Pius Cassius in A. D. 213. The indices are full and good (but one of the names in no. 2792 is omitted), but it would have been useful to have had a list of the *inedita* and more of a subject index than is provided by the table of contents.

It may be useful to point to certain texts or monuments of special interest. There are two bronze hands, one holding an image of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, dedicated to unnamed deities (nos. 2880, 2930); the meaning is not specially discussed, but apparently taken to be hands of the divinity in question, raised in blessing of the dedicator. There is a bronze dish in the form of a ship dedicated to a local Zeus (no. 2989); the inscription resembles that of the silver libation bowl found at Dura, also dedicated to a local Zeus (*Dura Report*, V, p. 308). There is the intriguing "virgo vates" of the god Hadaranes, Hochmaea, who for twenty years abstained from bread on the orders of the god (nos. 2928/29). And there is the curious hexagonal base with its 'literary' texts of an enigmatic character: "Thou art late in coming: stay there, Crayfish; Oh heavenly day; it settled upon a youth unhappily; the patient is easily cured; gluttony brings indigestion." Or perhaps not enigmatic, if we see with Seyrig a reference to some scene from the comic stage. Unfortunately the sculptured figures and the (apparently) Latin text on the sixth face are not clear.

Where so much is given, it is ungracious to wish for more. The matter of palaeography is not neglected, but it is not emphasized. With so many dated texts from one city and area, it might have been useful to prepare alphabet tables, at least for the period to which most belong, from the late first to the early third century. Something of this lack is supplied by the plates, which give the texts generally by language, generally by date, but also by type as well as by area: the Baalbek inscriptions occupy plates 5 to 32, the last seven being mainly Greek, while plates 33 to 55 show monuments from the Beqa'. Perhaps a stricter arrangement, either by serial number, or by language, or by date, or by style of writing, would have been preferable. In the text itself, there is little attempt to date by the hands, and such a statement (on no. 2751) by Father Mouterde is quoted in a way to suggest that the editor did not believe it. (Would it not have been better in such a case to have omitted the suggestion?) In consequence, many texts lack any indication of date at all, even when it is reasonable to suppose that they belong to definite periods. In publishing papyrus documents, editors comment "late 2nd cent." or the like, drawing upon both internal evidence and the style of writing; and this is useful, particularly when it is placed prominently in the heading.

In a similarly laconic manner, the editor frequently does not give the present location of the monument. Is it to be inferred that in such cases he did not know it? In such cases as that of the monumental no. 2796, of which a photograph is published, this seems hardly possible.

I have some comments in detail. Is not no. 2731 a boundary stone (called a herm) to mark the plot of land which Salamanes and his brother have bought? The editor makes no comment, nor on no. 2803, where a text "Gerda sup(erior)" can hardly have been originally set up in a temple. Is not no. 2922 funerary? In no. 2733 there is a discussion of the katochoi in the cohort of Aphrodite but only a question mark to reflect astonishment at the objects apparently dedicated: beards. In no. 2761, can we so lightly disregard the three P's at the end, even though Seyrig's interpretation makes excellent sense? In no. 2765, we should restore O(ptimi) M(aximi), presumably, and not the dative case. In no. 2792, the name can be read, I should think, as Q. Naevius Epagathus, rather than Epagathi f(ilius), which leaves the dedicant without a cognomen and with an unexpected father. In nos. 2799-2804 bis the "reserved places" recall the similar situation at Gerasa (nos. 75-104 in the Kraeling publication). In no. 2882, is not κατὰ θεὸ[ν to be understood in a calendaric sense: "according to the moon"? In no. 2890, certainly ἄλ]υπε. And in no. 2979, a cognomen seems required, and if Κρήδ[ουλος is not convincing, possibly the damaged letter at the end would permit the reading Κρήϙ[κης as in no. 2728.

Tantalizing is no. 2990, an addendum, which looks Hellenistic in style of writing. There are five fragments with references to a letter, perhaps enclosed in another (ὑπόκειτ]αι τὸ ἀντίγ[ραφον), but not enough to show the nature of its contents.

And two minor points of interpretation. The presence of an Antioch Tyche (no. 2842) in the peristyle of the Bacchus Temple is

hardly evidence for the participation of the cities of Syria in its construction (so p. 38), particularly as the monument is not dated (and no photograph is provided for the reader to judge), while the late (A. D. 430) epigram (no. 2831) referring to something accomplished ὑπὸ ἔργῳ Φοινίκης πολίων is also poor evidence for their interest in the pagan period.

† C. BRADFORD WELLES.

ANDRÉ HURST. Apollonios de Rhodes, manière et cohérence. Contribution à l'étude de l'esthétique Alexandrine. Rome, Institut Suisse de Rome, 1967. Pp. 191; 3 pls. (*Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*, VIII.)

Hurst's book, appearing at a moment when increasing attention is being paid to Apollonius by American as well as European scholars, contains much to be assimilated in the continuing attempt to understand and interpret a difficult and baffling, yet impressive and intriguing poet. Students of Hellenistic literature and art will find Hurst's introductory chapter one of the most penetrating and exciting surveys of the Alexandrian artistic climate available anywhere, and those interested in Hellenistic poetics will find the first sections of the final chapter especially valuable. Yet the central chapters in which the analysis of the poem is carried out are for the most part disappointing in the extreme, for the analysis is too schematic to be convincing and indeed often appears artificial and even arbitrary when the reader compares the conclusions of the critic with the text of the poem itself.

Two major premises guide Hurst's approach to the *Argonautica*. The first is that the poem must be allowed to reveal itself in terms of the poetic sensibility of its age. Second, Hurst asserts that certain elements within the poem itself, notably the proem and the catalogue, serve as signposts intended to alert the reader to the proper structural comprehension of the poem to follow.

The introduction is a tightly argued chapter of *Geistesgeschichte* which illustrates with a sophisticated analysis of well chosen examples two major tendencies observable in the "climat de sensibilité" of Apollonius' era. In a refreshingly original approach to his subject, Hurst transcends the factionalism of the age to discern two overriding temptations that the poets, artists, and their Hellenistic audiences were peculiarly subject to: the temptation of the learned manner and of the naïve manner. The former is characterized by a fondness for the verifiable and tends toward an obscure, cryptic, or masked presentation of reality. The naïve is broadly defined as a return to a previous level either of reality or of literature. Through an original, perceptive, and convincing discussion of specific examples, Hurst shows how these two temptations ultimately balance one another in a dialectical relationship in the more representative manifestations of Hellenistic culture, and in the final chapter he returns to these temptations and argues that the *Argonautica* represents their perfect equilibrium.

The central chapters attempt to describe the poem's structure as patterns of related themes. The epic is divided into "ensembles" within each of which the themes or motifs are arranged in parallel or inverse order, usually around a center. The pattern of themes is either ABCA'B' (parallel: Hurst's term is "symétrique") or ABCB'A' (inverse: "récurrent") or some variation or combination of the two. The proem supposedly provides the first example of such an ensemble, and it is taken as a key to the internal structure of the rest of the poem's segments. Yet Hurst's analysis of the proem itself arouses serious misgivings. Lines 5-17 are reduced to three themes, with 5-7 "cause des craintes de Pélias" and 15-17 "conséquences des craintes de Pélias" echoing one another around the central lines 8-14 "Jason perd une sandale." Two objections must be raised. Lines 8-14 really contain two themes and should constitute two elements: 8-11 *Jason loses sandal* and 12-14 *Jason arrives at Pelias' palace during a sacrificial feast.* If we keep both themes, we have not a neatly symmetrical ABA' but an unsymmetrical ABCA'. In the interests of his symmetry Hurst also misrepresents the themes of the outer elements (5-7 and 15-17). In lines 5-7 there is no mention of Pelias' fears; the lines merely recount the content of the oracle. In lines 15-17 there is no mention of the oracle nor of Pelias' fears; the lines describe his reaction to the sight of Jason. These final lines do not echo the initial lines but rather continue the narrative from the immediately previous lines describing Jason's arrival. Instead of a static schema of thematic echoes around a central motif, we have a forward-moving narrative which is literally raced along its trajectory by a series of temporal adverbs in lines 8, 12, and 15. The reader is not intended to reflect back and leisurely consider the passage as a ring composition. Similar objections must be leveled against seeing 18-22 as a mere reflection of 1-4, for, while there is a kind of repetition here of the generalized theme "le poète et son oeuvre," lines 18-22 nevertheless move the reader swiftly forward into the catalogue and the voyage, as Hurst admits in calling them an "élément pivot."

I have concentrated on lines 5-17 because they illustrate the major flaws in Hurst's method. Similar objections could be made to the greater part of his discussion and especially to the diagrams which accompany it. This thematic analysis is throughout too subjective and arbitrary in that the themes are sometimes not objectively verifiable in the text itself and sometimes it is impossible to see the relationship between them. A more flexible approach is needed that will not force the text into preconceived symmetrical or recurrent patterns. Such an approach would have to account for at least the following three factors: 1) the poet's obvious fondness for doublets (e. g. the two battles and the two ascents of Dindymus in the Cyzicus episode) which may exist without forming nicely rounded ABA' patterns, 2) a rich texture of verbal repetitions and thematic echoes which gives coherence and unity to passages such as I, 519-79 without being capable of reduction to Hurst's recurrent or symmetrical schemas, and 3) the plot line or forward narrative movement of each episode—completely ignored in Hurst's static patterns.

And apparently Apollonius' poem is a large, static pattern for

Hurst. He sees it as a form of catalogue, a "proclamation" of juxtaposed, thematically discrete elements. In fact, Hurst sees no real plot in this poem beyond the large patterns of the outward and return voyages. There is only a series of separate episodes set end to end with the episode of the overcoming of Aeetes taking up the whole third book and occupying a central position in the whole poem. To prove the poem's structural unity, Hurst returns to his concepts of symmetry and recurrence and tries to establish thematic links between episodes in Book IV and those in Books I and II. Some of these links are intriguing (such as Lemnos/Corcyra and Cyzicus/Apsyrtus), but many (such as Phineus/Circe) are highly improbable. The resulting schema consisting of three series of interlocking parallel and recurrent patterns is too artificial to be credible, and it ignores such obvious thematic parallels as the two deaths (Idmon, Tiphys) on the outward voyage and the two (Canthus, Mopsus) on the return or the two epiphanies of Apollo (in Books II and IV). Again, Hurst is so obsessed with his notion of symmetries and recurrences that he ends by falsifying and ultimately, I believe, oversimplifying a poem which defies reduction to schemas, no matter how complex they be.

Certainly, Hurst realizes that the poem goes beyond his systems of explanation; his preface acknowledges this, and his analyses of Books III and IV seem eager to surpass his earlier structural schemas and to discuss similes and imagery, especially as they relate to one another and to the characters and action. One wishes there had been more of this broader analysis.

The first two sections of the final chapter return to the tense theoretical level of the introduction and situate the poem first as an equilibrium of the two great tendencies of the age (see above) and then as an autonomous work of art which establishes itself at a certain aesthetic distance from the reader. Numerous distinctive yet often criticized features of the poem's technique such as the continual mention of *aitia* and the breaking of the atmosphere of a passage by the intrusion of learned allusions are here seen as functional in making "the reader at each instant see himself situated in his condition of reader . . . with an attitude of distance with regard to the work." The work itself is an autonomous phaenomenon of language characterized by structural and thematic independence, a kind of closed universe which imposes its individuality upon the reader without absorbing him into itself. In a previous chapter Hurst has already pointed to a certain barrier which Apollonius places "between the work as an autonomous creation and its creator." The triangular relationship thus established (with the poet, the work, and the reader at its apices) points up both the new self-consciousness of the Hellenistic poet and his audience and the new status of the literary work: it is a thing in itself, inviting not the reader's identification but rather a distanced seeking of pleasure in the wholeness of the work of art.

This location of the poem in its unique position between creator and audience (a concept influenced, doubtless, by contemporary existential criticism) and the location of the poem within the *Zeitgeist* of the Alexandrian era are Hurst's two most intriguing and, I suspect, influential contributions in this study. The value of these

portions of the book compensates for the often inadequate and unconvincing structural analysis. For its new perspectives alone, it should be required reading for the student of Hellenistic poetry and culture, and strongly recommended for the student of ancient poetics.

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RICHARD A. BAUMAN. The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1967. Pp. xvii + 336. (Diss.)

In the sense of betraying one's country, Rome never developed a unified law of treason. Certain acts transformed a citizen into a *hostis*, to be dealt with accordingly; certain others constituted dereliction of duty while under arms, and came under the authority of one's commander; but the series of laws which gradually emerged to protect the state's *maiestas* and which is often referred to loosely by modern writers as being, in sum, a treason law, in fact grew up around quite a special, separate feeling: that the power of the *populus Romanus* should not be thwarted. Bauman treats the concept of *maiestas* as more static or passive, emphasizing the relativity implied in being "greater than" some other entity, whether state or individual. His sense of its meaning more easily fits the early history of the word than its use from the late second century on, when it was being applied to the untrammeled operation of magistrates or the full implementation of the People's will. In the course of time both matters—the authority, the sanctity, the physical safety of the persons embodying the state, and the advancing of the public interest, at home and abroad—received a comprehensive protection. Still, as Bauman is well aware, and particularly emphasizes in his account, the development of *maiestas*-legislation was jerky and much under the influence of individual situations. As a consequence, even by the early Empire its parts did not fit neatly into each other.

As a species of *perduellio*, early charges of having diminished the state's 'greater-ness' were brought by tribunes in the *comitia* against senators and magistrates for damaging Rome's strength or reputation among other nations. After 149 parts of *perduellio* began to be categorized more specifically under permanent *quaestiones*, of which the Lex Appuleia constituted one (probably in 103) to cover, *inter alia*, sedition and derogation from tribunician authority. As might be predicted, this, like other laws of Varius, Sulla, Pedius, or Caesar, responded for partisan purposes to something that had recently happened—riot, revolution, unwanted war, embezzlement, assassination. Bauman, however, does not make clear just what it was in the meaning of *maiestas* that made Romans apply the word to whatever had been injured by the various crimes attacked through these laws. His concern is less with the history of ideas than of law and politics.

The extension of *maiestas* to guard the emperor and his family cannot be known in any detail; but the last third of the book, devoted to this problem, is somewhat disappointing. Bauman here discounts the role of the momentary political pressures which he so well evaluated in earlier chapters; he makes less of Augustus' tribunician sacrosanctity than seems required; his invention of *maiestas violata* is quite unconvincing; and in particular he leans on precedents of Roman law, sometimes very remote, rather than on practises of Hellenistic monarchy, as shaping development.

As a whole, the work dodges no difficulty, leaves no detail unexplored, and preserves a high standard of clarity across very tricky ground. Though suffering from too narrowly legalistic a focus, it provides an excellent survey of an interesting and significant part of Roman law.

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ARTHUR BODSON. La morale sociale des derniers Stoïciens, Sénèque, Épictète et Marc Aurèle. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1967. Pp. 148. (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège,* CLXXVI.)

M. Bodson wishes in this book to emphasize the evolution of Stoicism; his concern is to elucidate the new and vital humanism and religiosity unified and proclaimed by writers of the later Stoa (p. 17):

> . . . nous serons conduit à envisager non seulement la philosophie des rapports inter-humains, mais encore celle des relations entre l'homme et la divinité, points de vue inséparables dans la pensée stoïcienne. . . .

This Bodson achieves by detailed examination of numerous passages from the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Aurelius. His introduction clearly asserts his intentions and proposed methodology, and the book's two chapters scrutinize first, the background and foundations in Stoic doctrine of a social ethics in views of God, the macrocosm, and microcosm, followed by analysis of particular later Stoic conceptions of serving God, of achieving liberty, and promoting an humanitarian *fraternité.* Here Bodson especially studies the emergent ideal of *le citoyen du monde* and the inspired vision of *la cité universelle.*

This last Stoic conception, articulating an impassioned appeal to Brotherhood, Bodson argues with a fervor of his own. One of the last passages in the book challenges Quintilian's criticism of Seneca as a mere popular modern and faddish stylist. Seneca's popularity is hardly linguistic or rhetorical, Bodson protests, rising to the occasion; rather, it is Seneca's ideas that account for this general enthusiasm for his writings (p. 126):

> . . . c'est ouvrant à la jeunesse des horizons neufs, en brisant ce qu'elle considère comme des obstacles, que l'écrivain rallie ses suffrages.

The book closes with its author's own mystical, almost Neo-Platonic, concurrence. Like an apostle or a *fourth philosophe* of the later Stoa, Bodson in his prose vibrates with empathy and conviction. So much is to the good.

Yet one must note a number of serious objections to Arthur Bodson's study. His proposal that Stoics of the imperial period devoted themselves more to ethics than to dialectic and physics is common knowledge. His thesis urging at length that later Stoics increasingly inculcate a social humaneness is surely commonplace. Bodson too often reasserts and belabors the fairly well-known. Surely the analogizing of microcosm to the state—generating ideas of the "body politic"—is a traditional metaphor, implicit in Plato's *Republic*, and not a late-Stoic discovery; and the formulation of what Cicero had termed "civem totius mundi quasi unius urbis" (*De Leg.*, I, 23, 61; *Tusc.*, V, 108) is a product not of the late Stoa but of a climate of opinion that had long been coming-of-age (consult, for instance, H. C. Baldry's *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* [1965]). Thus, Bodson insistently uses such terms as "the new imagery" and "the new language" when they are in fact anything but "new"; they are, even by his own occasional concession, "deepenings" and "renewals" of the old. Stoics of the empire produce merely a "rajeunissement" (p. 58). Nevertheless, he continues straining to discern in the later Stoa "un souffle nouveau" (p. 62). The reader will feel that he protests too much. The substance of later Stoicism is a warming up of the old, not the decoction of a new, dish.

Furthermore, Bodson's insistencies come to us in an exhausting package. For one thing, the short text is pock-marked with interruptions: too many headings and sub-headings, with further subdivisionings, too many short paragraphs. In addition, the prose is overwhelmed by sameness. Almost always making but slow progress at best, Bodson regularly elects to expound a small, divided subject. When considering Stoic attitudes to the Macrocosm, for instance, we discover the subject parceled under three heads: "Le Dieu générateur," "Le Dieu organisateur," and "La Providence" (pp. 32 ff.). Later, Suicide as a topic is divided and snippeted almost beyond reader endurance. Such proceedings are the order of the day: after making a number of brief points, Bodson invariably will lay a topic aside for a moment, while passing across to something else (see especially p. 52), or he will conclude shortly by backing up, and presenting a *résumé*.

Thus is Bodson's methodology rigorously changeless: in making any point or examinating any topic whatever, he tirelessly considers, one-by-one, the opinions of his three authors—Seneca, Epictetus, Aurelius—and always in this sequence; there is no relief from this pecking order. Indeed, the three are cited, *even when they do not sustain the argument*; when this occurs, as on p. 59, he will blandly remark that "Marc Aurèle semble plus réticent."

Perhaps most repetitious is Bodson's language. As sociologist, he insists upon generating a plethora of terminology—"les idées-forces," "l'idéal social," "la morale sociale," "la grande cité," "la cité universelle." These he deploys upon every page. Compounded of such phrases, his generalizations lose precision and clarity. He

cheerfully confesses to such vagueness, as when he speaks of describing "l'état d'esprit sous-jacent à l'attitude du Stoïcien envers la divinité et autrui," and adds (p. 77):

> Cet état d'esprit—nous employons volontairement une expression vague—n'est pas simple; c'est un écheveau où se mêlent la pensée métaphysique, le sentiment religieux, les élans du coeur, le culte de la raison, les images les plus suggestives.

He attempts to manipulate and distinguish among such foggy terms —"Nous avons tenté de démêler cet écheveau . . ."—but his strings are tangled, knotted, and broken awfully.

But the most serious of all objections must concern this study's central thesis. For Bodson proposes to discover in the later Stoa a precursor, a prophet, a symbol, and an harbinger—of 20th-century Sociology. Other sociologists have located anticipations of Modern Sociology in Montesquieu, in Rousseau, even in Plato. Almost enviously, Bodson will seek to find *his* body of forerunners and precedents: "Il ne serait donc pas absurde de chercher dans le Stoïcisme des embryons de réflexion sociologique" (p. 14). He does precisely that; he argues that *all* precepts and ideas of the later Stoics lead to a single point: a *social* emphasis upon the brotherhood of god and man, conceived solely in terms of the ideal universal metropolis (p. 129). *Tout part de là*, he claims, and it is his whole hypothesis. If others had too much emphasized Stoic physics, Stoic *apatheia*, or a Stoic concern for a private and personal perfection, Bodson certainly does not right the scale; he simply knocks it off the table onto the floor.

For Bodson is attracted to Durkheim's dictum (he cites it several times) that Society is the end and goal of *all* morality. Yet one must doubt the efficacy of a proposition that includes all, since it prohibits discriminations and distinctions. And if it be true that *every* system of ethics is generated by and for Society, then Bodson might as well have discerned his socio-logoi in an Aristotle, a Plato, a Pythagoras or even an Heraclitus, as to have based them upon Stoics of the first and second centuries of our era. The typical reader of Arthur Bodson's work will not want to quarrel with many of his sources or his local findings, but he will certainly feel cramped and confined by such an oppressive overall thesis.

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H. D. JOCELYN. The Tragedies of Ennius. The Fragments Edited with an Introduction and Commentary. Cambridge, The University Press, 1967. Pp. viii + 473. $24.50. (*Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries*, 10.)

This volume presents a full-scale treatment of those fragments which the editor believes can with good reason be attributed to Ennius' tragedies. A 63-page Introduction deals sensibly and well

with, among other things, Athenian drama in its relation to Roman festivals, stage, and poets; the form of Roman tragedy; and Ennius himself, the titles of his tragedies, and the history of their text.

The text consists of 402 verses or parts of verses, printed in italics as part of an otherwise Roman letterpress, and numbered in the right margin continuously from 1 to 402. Where portions of the *Testimonia* require line-numbers, these appear in the left margin. This economical device makes it possible for the reader rather easily to pick out the 402 Ennian verses spread over nearly 100 pages. At page 120, economy has perhaps gone too far; there, or at a corresponding place in the Commentary (p. 369), it would have been helpful to indicate explicitly that the verses drawn from Cic., *Nat. deor.*, III, 67 are regarded as coming from a *Medea* of an author other than Ennius (Accius? see Pease *ad loc.*). Another minor defect: the editor nowhere explains his use of lower-case "i" to refer to Ribbeck's fragments 13-15, Vahlen's 1-3 (pp. 433, 438, 441), which lemmata, rejected as Ennian fragments with good reason by the editor, appear as part of his *Testimonium I* (pp. 67-8). About three-fourths of the verses are assigned to 20 tragedies, presented in the alphabetical order of their titles; the remainder are grouped at the end as *Incerta.*

The editor's main contribution is his careful, thorough, and discreet Commentary (pp. 161-427). Here he holds himself to a high standard of what constitutes substantial proof in matters of textual and literary criticism, and what is mere—and often fruitless—conjecture. In many cases he is commendably satisfied with a total *non liquet.* At only one point did he seem over-finicky: this is in his rejection of Mercerus' *vi summa* in the verse which he numbers 153 (p. 294), on the ground that Hector would not have needed *vis* in arming or leading out his troops; one wonders whether Dr. Jocelyn has had military experience. Even this possible blemish is, however, partially rectified in the Addenda, p. 427, *ad loc.* What the editor can do with the exegesis of a fairly extended fragment is shown by his excellent treatment of his verses 50-61 (pp. 223-7).

The volume ends with several useful items: a bibliography, concordances with the editions of Ribbeck and Vahlen, and lexical, metrical, and general indices. The only misprint is apparently the reversal of two letters in the word φάος, p. 375, first line.

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MAYNARD MACK, editor. NORMAN CALLAN, ROBERT FAGLES, WILLIAM FROST, DOUGLAS M. KNIGHT, associate editors. The Twickenham Edition of Alexander Pope, Vols. VII-VIII (The Iliad of Homer); IX-X (The Odyssey of Homer). New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968. $37.50 each set of two volumes.

Maynard Mack, trying to isolate the difference between Pope and his model, picks out the famous scene at *Odyssey*, V, 151-8 (which repeats elements from *Od.*, V, 82-4): Calypso, under divine com-

mand, is about to release Odysseus from her island. She finds him "staring, in tears, out over the unharvestable water" (verse 158). Professor Mack says there is a *narrative* logic to this scene: "the rocks and sands in Homer serve as the kind of scenery in which a man on an island, longing for home, is likely to be." But where, for instance, Homer has "she found him sitting on the shore," Pope launches his passage with the sombre line, "Him pensive on the lonely beach she found." Both lachrymose trochees (pensive, lonely) in this otherwise monosyllabic line are "added to the Greek," as they say. Here, then, is the difference Mack would underline: "In Pope's rendering . . . the rocks and sands are made functions not of the place but of the desolation of the mood, and they come to us trailing a long romantic history from previous poetry."

An unfortunate choice. Mack has been ill-served by the collaborator in charge of classical learning (Norman Callan). Almost forty years ago, Alexander Turyn demonstrated that "loneliness-by-the-shore" is one of those scene-formulae in Homer which have been extensively studied in recent years (notably by Walter Ahrend). The conjunction of man and place is iconographic, not a mere "function of the place." Men in despair are frequently routed along the "barren" or "raucous" sea (*Il.*, I, 34, 327; *Od.*, II, 260-1), even when the narrative appropriateness of the passage in *Od.*, V is lacking. At *Il.*, I, 349-50 and XXIV, 11-12, Achilles is deliberately shifted from his natural narrative spot so that he may weep over the sea. Pope did not, therefore, change the scene from a real landscape to a traditional rendering of mood. The Homeric poet had already assembled a traditional rendering of mood: the man and the sea together are meant to "say" that they are, respectively, pensive and lonely. Pope's audience, lacking this particular iconographic tradition, might have made Mack's error, and read as literal narrative what is spiritual enactment. Pope's "additions" saved men from such an error.

It is possible, of course, to contend that Pope merely had a stroke of good luck in embellishing this place (and that Mack had a stroke of bad luck in singling it out). But the point is that all of the events in Homer are hieratic and ceremonial—not merely the obvious bits of "liturgy" (the feast that is a welcome, the herald's staff that is an authorization of speech). It is the Snell thesis that Homeric poetry is severely inhibited in its depiction of "internal" states: if one meditates on an event, that act must be externalized—by listening to men sing a tale of the event, or by singing it oneself, or by weaving it into a tapestry. And since emotions must be enacted, all actions become charged with spiritual symbolism. As Hermann Fraenkel puts it, there is no "inner" and "outer" man in Homer: each action flows direct, without intermediary, from man's vital core. Bare "facts" are therefore charged with more significance than would adhere to them in a society that distinguishes act from intention. Pope was able to grasp this essential point about Homer, because he too worked in a *tradition*, where every act was heavily weighted with social consequence. Both lived in a world full of symbols, of insignia, of status—full of meanings *acted out*.

The extent of the Homeric oral tradition is frequently under-

estimated by Mack and his collaborators, some of whom slip back into the view that Homer is "primitive," the lonely genius, the blind balladeer. This was the view that so long discredited Pope's translation, cumbrous as it is with self-conscious tradition. Pope *is* self-conscious about his art; but so was the oral poet who guarded, with his peers, the "gift of the Muse" (i. e., the vast store of formulae to which he had been apprenticed, and which made him able to perform the guild's almost magic act of simultaneous composition and performance). Pope is hedged about by rules and decorum, as the oral poet was limited by the metrical and other exigences of his formulae. Yet Pope controls the things that would overpower others—as both Homeric poems transcend the cramped style of other oral epics.

It is unfortunate that Mack's serious and useful edition misses this key point in the relation between Pope and Homer, since the introductory essays and appendices supply a great deal of material for establishing the similarity between the poets' techniques. Not only did Pope have living collaborators in the *Odyssey*; he had already collaborated with the dead in an effort to make his *Iliad* sum up and crown a long tradition of English epic writing and translation. William Frost traces, in his essay, the careful way this was done. Here, for instance, is his dissection of one short passage:

> Pope takes the first line from Chapman, the third from Ogilby, and the sixth from Dryden's *Aeneid*, the first verbatim, the other two nearly so. It is less certain, since Pope's translation is here closer to the Greek and the possibility of coincidence greater, whether in the line on Juno's diamonds—"Far-beaming Pendants tremble in her ear" (211)—the first word was suggested by Tooke, the second by Hobbes or Broome, and the rest of the line by a couplet in Gay's poem *The Fan*.

Students of Homer will see at once a similarity to Milman Parry's way of breaking down a single passage into its interwoven varied formulae.

It is impossible, everyone knows, to compose great poetry this way. Except that Homer did it. Except that Pope did it. Those who doubt Pope's achievement may be swayed by Douglas Knight's essay on the *Iliad*, Robert Fagels' on the *Odyssey*. But there is not much hope for those deaf enough to resist the entire fugue of l and t, s and a, that is constructed in a single couplet like this:

> Then rushing from his Tent, he snatch'd in hast
> His steely Lance, that lightened as he past.

Snatch, hast, Lance, past are evolutions of a single thing, sounds as same-and-different as the one complex act that drives to its completion in the lines. For the miracle is that this complicated sound-pattern, the tight metre, the rhyme, do not rob Pope's couplet of its energy or ease. The thing is all verb—not only the three finite verbs and the participle, but the verbal force given an adjective like *steely* (the lance is stiffening *into* its steel identity), a noun like *hast* (snatch'd-in-hast is, on a smaller scale, the kind of complex verb that, in its looser way, the whole couplet has become).

Pope burned with fear and enthusiasm through twelve of his young creative years translating Homer, "And counted Heroes where he counted Men." Mack has given twelve careful years to the preparation of this edition—epic labors, both; neither of them wasted.

GARRY WILLS.

BALTIMORE.

FABIO CUPAIUOLO. Lettura di Orazio Lirico: Struttura dell' Ode Oraziana. Napoli, Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1967. Pp. 216. Lire 3,500. (*Collana di Studi Classici*, 2.)

This brief volume is directed more to the general reader of Horatian lyric than to the scholar; its ultimate purpose goes beyond that suggested by the title and subtitle to include an attempt to understand the lyric poetry of Horace and to penetrate its secret. Since poetry and structure in the Horatian ode are closely connected and interwoven, the study of structure is of prime and continuing importance. Cupaiuolo has divided the results of his research into six chapters, all developed in much the same manner, from a general discussion of the problem, to Horatian lyric in particular, and finally to specific examples from individual odes and epodes. Although each chapter is really a unit in itself, throughout the whole one's attention is drawn to a conclusion which has already been stated in the preface: "L'ode di Orazio . . . può essere citata ad esempio tipico e simbolo di una felice confluenza di tradizione e originalità, di letteratura e di poesia."

Early in Chapter 1, "Eidos dell'ode oraziana," the author defines the various aspects of poetry which he covers in the word *struttura*. Structure is many things: literary genre, image, metaphor, symbol, myth, story, relation of sounds, rhythm, meter. He introduces some well-known characteristics of the ode of which an understanding reader should be aware, i. e. the use and positioning of words for specific effects, modes of closing the odes, types and use of addressees. More interesting is the discussion of how, by the frequent use of *me* and its variants, Horace has placed himself and his life in contrast to others. Chapter 2, "Unità artistica o *lucidus ordo*?," is concerned with the problems of unity in thought development. Unity can be found both in the subtle atmosphere surrounding an artistic whole as well as in the orderly development and placing of parts. Here, obviously, there is room for disagreement. Most Horatian scholars today would question the statement that "tripartite structure is a little less frequent" than other types. The author states, however, that some odes can be divided in more than one way, thus changing the pattern accordingly. The title of Chapter 3, "Il 'mito' nell'esperienza lirica oraziana," is self-explanatory. This brief section lists some of the many mythological references in the odes and concludes that Horace's originality is revealed by his use of Roman myths as in III, 5 and IV, 4.

In Chapter 4, "L'ode di Orazio e i generi della lirica," the poems

are grouped according to external structure: hymns, dirges, victory songs, dithyrambs, the propempticon, invitations, love songs, and exhortations. Many comparisons are made with the classical Greek models; there is frequent consideration of structure and thought patterns; stressed also is the effective use of the second person pronouns, particularly in the hymns. Cupaiuolo has rather descriptive opinions of some of the odes: III, 18, "una deliziosa poesia"; I, 12, "un tentativo mal riuscito"; IV, 14, "ancora più fiacca"; I, 23, "una fresca poesiola," etc. Chapter 5, "Metri e forme ritmiche: tradizione e novità," describes how Horace has skilfully used choice and variations of meter to enhance his artistry. Again he is copying classic Greek forms, but he has changed and adapted them to meet his needs. In order to determine possible correlation, there is a detailed analysis of subjects and meters. The author concludes, however, that the choice of meter more often corresponds to the poet's state of mind than to a subject or type; it corresponds "al colore del suo sentimento" (p. 156).

A most important element necessary to the understanding of Horatian lyric is the subject of Chapter 6, "L'ellenismo della lirica oraziana." Horace did not wish to imitate but to emulate and compete with the Greek poets; he endowed Greek structure, themes, and motifs with his own original Latin spirit, sometimes using his predecessors as ideal models, sometimes practicing *contaminatio*. At the end Cupaiuolo briefly considers the relationship of the odes to Hellenistic poetry and warns that erroneous opinions may be formed because much of the poetry of the more ancient Greeks has been lost.

Throughout I find that Cupaiuolo offers little that is really new. He has consulted and used much pertinent bibliography, is always willing to cite contrasting opinions, and presents a wide array of facts and interpretations. The volume is well-documented on the whole, but it would have been advantageous to have consulted G. Reincke, *De tripartita carminum horatianorum structura* (1929) and K. Buchholz, *De Horatio hymnographo* (1912). Included are a brief bibliography and an analytical index. I note a few errors, chiefly *pareius* for *parcius* (p. 118), *crebis* for *crebris* (p. 118), II, 37 for II, 7 (p. 126), and R. D. for G. Williams (p. 209). All in all, this is a pleasant little volume which should prove interesting and informative to lovers of the *Odes*.

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MARY A. GRANT. Folktale and Hero-tale Motifs in the Odes of Pindar. Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 1967. Pp. 172. $4.00.

Pindar's use of myth is one of the most important aspects of his poetry and any study that assists us in our understanding of it is obviously most welcome. Unfortunately this book cannot be ranked among such studies. Pindaric scholars will agree with most of what

Miss Grant says, but few, I think, will feel that it needed to be said.

In her introduction she states that "The critical and school editions are mostly preoccupied with questions of text, literary source material, and interpretation, while actual analysis of mythical motifs and comparison of these with world-wide folklore motifs such as are catalogued in the Thompson *Motif-Index* remain untouched." The reader naturally assumes that he will in fact be presented with an "analysis" and a "comparison," but instead we find what is essentially a list of motifs described and grouped under a number of headings, and a comparison, not with "world-wide folklore motifs," but primarily with the folklore of the North American Indians. The former has at least the advantage of enabling one to see at a glance the examples in Pindar of a given motif, but the latter is surely of no significance whatsoever for the understanding of myth in Pindar or among the North American Indians.

The book is divided into two parts of almost equal length, the first containing "motifs of the hero tale," the second "motifs not directly connected with the hero tale," and each is further sub-divided into several categories, e. g. "Friendly Animals," "Winning a Bride," "Deception," "Unnatural Cruelty," "Sex." It concludes with a bibliography (not much on Pindar), index of motifs (pp. 143-64), and index of mythological characters. It will perhaps suffice to examine only one of these categories in any detail, since the format is the same for each.

The first, entitled "Birth of Hero and Hero Tasks," covers twelve pages and begins by pointing out that Indian tales about the "supernatural birth of the hero, threatening influences in his youth, his rapid growth to maturity, his assignment to dangerous quests, and his encounters with monstrous animals" find their Pindaric counterparts in Perseus, Jason, Achilles, and Heracles. The unnecessary observation is then made that a "closer examination of these large patterns with the motifs of the Indian tales" reveals a greater "reasonableness and refinement." After a brief illustration of this Miss Grant points out certain "closer parallels." We learn, for example, that in both the taskmaster is usually related to the hero and that the hero is faced with three tasks. In support of her second statement she quotes *Olym.*, 13, 87-90, Bellerophon's exploits against the Amazons, the Chimaera, and the Solymi, and *Nem.*, 3, 33-5. But, as she herself admits, the former is simply an echo of *Il.*, VI, 179 ff., and the latter is not even a threefold enumeration, since Peleus' cutting of his spear can hardly be called an exploit. The remainder of this section compares the monstrous and grotesque creatures which are encountered by the heroes in Pindar and the heroes of the Indian tales.

In summary, this book is of use only to those who wish to see a classification of Pindar's mythical motifs and a comparison of them with the folklore motifs of the North American Indian.

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Publishers of The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower



AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XCI, 2 WHOLE NO. 362

FABRICIUS VEIENTO.

The comment by Furneaux on Veiento is typical: ". . . (he) is well known under Domitian as a counselor, and an infamous accuser. . . ." [1] When Veiento appears in the historical accounts, if he appears at all, he is ordinarily linked with the *delatores* of the reign of Domitian.[2] Thus so careful a historian as the late M. P. Charlesworth could say: "He (Domitian) began to listen favorably to *delatores* and to those who played upon his fears . . . Chief among these were M.' Aquilius Regulus, A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento, and the blind L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, ..." [3] J. Wight Duff wrote: "At a dinner party given by the Emperor Nerva, Veiento, who had been a nortorious informer under Domitian, . . ." [4] and again:

[1] *The Annals of Tacitus*, II (2nd ed. by Pelham and Fisher [Oxford, 1907]) *ad* XIV, 50.

[2] A full discussion with all the evidence (except later epigraphical items) by Groag in *R.-E.*, *s. v.* "Fabricius 15" (1909), cols. 1938-42. Col. 1941, 39-40: "Er wird in der Epitome de Caes. 12, 5 als heimlicher Delator bezeichnet. . . ." References to Groag below are to this article unless otherwise specified. A later but briefer item by Groag in *P. I. R.*^{2}, F 91 (1943). Cf. A. Garzetti, *Nerva* (Rome, 1950), p. 50 (where Veiento is grouped with Regulus and Publicius Certus among the *delatores*), p. 121 (no. 51 among the "certi"). Earlier bibliography is cited in Groag and Garzetti.

[3] *C. A. H.*, XI (1936), p. 27 (cf. also pp. 30 and 975 where the index gives: "Veiento, Fabricius, informer"). There is no question of the guilt of Regulus: Crassus and Camerinus as his victims from Nero's day are specifically mentioned by Pliny (*Ep.*, I, 5, 3).

[4] *C. A. H.*, XI, p. 767.

". . . but under Domitian (Veiento) became active in Rome as a delator. . . ." [5]

Sir Ronald Syme wrote more perceptively, as so often, of his services as *amicus Caesaris* under the Flavians and Nerva, but did not comment one way or the other on *delatio*.[6] However he could not resist at least one epigram: "Veiento began as a dealer in petty patronage, and he ended as a merchant of honors." [7] A. N. Sherwin-White has correctly pointed out that Regulus' delation was confined to Nero's reign,[8] and that Veiento "was not one of the delators of Domitian's reign, although he is commonly taken as such. . . ." [9] However in his earlier comment on Regulus he says: "Like Fabricius Veiento . . . he ceased from *accusatio* after Nero, ..."

Because Veiento was one of Domitian's chief advisers, he was extremely unpopular during the terror under Domitian and after Domitian's assassination. As a consequence his importance in the government of the Flavians was minimized in the ancient sources, and has been underestimated by most modern historians. He was probably praetor in 54 and had already been adopted by A. Didius Gallus, who was consul before 37 and was legate of Britain from 52 to 58.[10] A strange item in Cassius Dio concerns Nero's enthusiasm for racing (LXI, 6, 2-3): [11]

> ἐπαιρομένων δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων καὶ τῶν ἡνιόχων τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ σπουδῇ, καὶ δεινῶς τούς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ὑβριζόντων,

[5] *O. C. D.* (1949), *s. v.* "Veiento."

[6] *Tacitus* (1958), I, pp. 4-6, 8, 16-17, 176; II, pp. 594, 633 (App. 5).

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 5.

[8] *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford, 1966), *ad* I, 5, 1.

[9] *Ad* IV, 22, 4.

[10] Groag, *P. I. R.*², D 70. That Veiento, whose full name is attested only in two of the inscriptions cited below, was the adopted son of Didius is surely correct, rather than Groag's alternative suggestion that he was the grandson of Didius by a daughter. Tacitus' statement (*Ann.*, XII, 40, 4) that he was *senectute gravis* is an exaggeration. The dates for his tenure as legate of Britain are probably 52-58 (so Groag: cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 40; XIV, 29; and *Agr.* 14).

[11] Text of Boissevain (1901). This section probably should be assigned to 54. Groag (*P. I. R.*²) *incerto anno*. S. J. de Laet incorrectly lists Veiento's praetorship in the beginning of Claudius' reign: *De Samenstelling van den romeinschen Senaat* (Antwerp, 1941), p. 154, no. 1002. The praenomen in Dio shows that the adoption had already occurred.

> Αὖλος Φαβρίκιος στρατηγῶν ἐκείνοις μὲν μὴ βουληθεῖσιν ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶν ἀγωνίσασθαι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο, κύνας δὲ διδάξας ἕλκειν ἅρματα ἀντὶ ἵππων ἐσήγαγε. γενομένου δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τῇ λευκῇ τῇ τε πυρρᾷ σκευῇ χρώμενοι τὰ ἅρματα εὐθὺς καθῆκαν, τῶν δὲ δὴ πρασίων τῶν τε οὐενετίων μηδ' ὡς ἐσελθόντων ὁ Νέρων τὰ ἆθλα τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτὸς ἔθηκε, καὶ ἡ ἱπποδρομία ἐτελέσθη.

Veiento's independence may have been based on his reliance on his adoptive father's influence.

The next reference is to his trial and exile in 62 (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 50), a passage worth quoting in full:[12]

> Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est, quod multa et probrosa in patres et sacerdotes composuisset iis libris, quibus nomen codicillorum dederat. adiciebat Tu⟨l⟩lius Geminus accusator venditata ab eo munera principis et adipiscendorum honorum ius. quae causa Neroni fuit suscipiendi iudicii, convictumque Veientonem Italia depulit et libros exuri iussit, conquisitos lectitatosque, donec cum periculo parabantur; mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.[13]

At first glance this seems to be denigration of Veiento, but a closer look at the passage and its context reveals Veiento in a very different light. The two preceding chapters in Tacitus narrate the recrudescence of charges under the *lex de maiestate.* Cossutianus Crispus, son-in-law of Tigellinus, charged the praetor Antistius Sosianus with treason for having recited poems insulting the emperor at a dinner party at the house of Ostorius Scapula. At his trial Junius Marullus, the designate consul, proposed that he be deprived of his office and executed *more maiorum.* Then Thrasea Paetus gained fame for his outspoken bravery by proposing as an alternative the confiscation of An-

[12] *Veiento* and *Veientonem* are conjectures of Puteolanus for *uegento* and *uegentonem* of *Mediceus alter* and *Leidensis.* Text of Koestermann (2nd ed., 1965).

[13] We may attribute this remark about Veiento's literary efforts to Tacitus' professional jealousy which does not spare the Elder Pliny (*Ann.*, XIII, 31, 1), the adoptive father of his intimate friend. C. W. Mendell, in speaking of the sources of Tacitus, said: "A gossip book by Fabricius Veiento is a possible source of material, although Tacitus speaks only of the circulation of the book and not of his own use of it" (*Tacitus, the Man and his Work* [New Haven, 1957], p. 207). This is an obvious misreading of the passage.

tistius' property and banishment to an island. Even this alternative penalty seems outrageously harsh to the modern reader, and presumably did so to Tacitus as well. Consider Julius Caesar's reply to his critics by writing his *Anticatones* (Suet., *Iul.*, 56, 6; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 34, 4), and Augustus' note to Tiberius (Suet., *Aug.*, 51, 3): . . . *aetati tuae, mi Tiberi, noli in hac re indulgere et nimium indignari quemquam esse, qui de me male loquatur; satis est enim, si hoc habemus ne quis nobis male facere possit.* Surely there is irony in the consular historian's account of the fame Thrasea Paetus gained by this proposal.[14] Consequently the words with which he opens the next chapter seem to me to be sympathetic to Veiento: *Haud dispari crimine Fabricius Veiento conflictatus est,* . . . .

Moreover Tacitus does not say that Veiento was selling influence, but only that Tullius Geminus, the *delator,* kept adding this. Such fictitious additions to the central charge of *maiestas laesa* were common.[15] We must also look at the chapter which follows (51) on the death of Burrus,[16] and the sharp increase in the influence of the infamous Tigellinus. The first words are *sed gravescentibus in dies publicis malis.* . . . Of a certainty this cannot be independent of the preceding paragraphs on the rise of *delatio,* and thus Tacitus specifies the conviction of Antistius and of Veiento as *publica mala.* Consequently he was not condemning Veiento, but was excoriating Nero for suppressing freedom of speech. Certainly Tacitus knew Veiento well. He and Veiento were fellow members of the *XV viri sacris faciundis* who were in charge of the *ludi saeculares* celebrated in 88, the year in which Tacitus was praetor.[17] We cannot be sure of Tacitus' attitude toward Veiento in the lost books of his

[14] Cf. *Ann.*, XIII, 49, and especially the bitter remarks on ostentatious but useless bravery in *Agr.*, 42, 5, where he is surely defending not only Agricola but also himself.

[15] Or even in reverse. When P. Suillius was defendant in 58 he brought forth a series of virulent charges against Seneca (Tac., *Ann.*, XIII, 42-3).

[16] Cf. my article "Sextus Afranius Burrus," *Latomus*, VIII (1949), pp. 241-2.

[17] For Veiento the inscriptions cited below. For Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 11, 1: *nam is* (Domitianus) *quoque edidit ludos saeculares, iisque intentius adfui sacerdotio quindecimvirali praeditus ac tunc praetor,* . . . .

Historiae, but when he looked at the *delatores* in his *Agricola* (45, 1) he mentions Mettius Carus, Messalinus, Baebius Massa, but not Veiento.[18]

Veiento probably returned from exile after Nero's death, as Groag suggested, or after it was clear that Vespasian was firmly established in power. Exile had taught him caution and he no longer hitched dogs to chariots, or wrote satire on his peers. He was consul for the first time in an uncertain year, presumably under Vespasian. Perhaps at this time he became *amicus Caesaris* and a member of the *consilium principis.*[19] A *diploma militare,* found at Kamensko in 1944, gives his full name and dates his second consulship, *consul suffectus* for the Emperor Titus from the Ides of January, 80.[20]

By happy chance Valla quoted four lines from Statius' *de bello Germanico*:[21]

> lumina: Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi
> et Fabius Veiento—potentem signat utrumque
> purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos—
> et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae.

There is no doubt that here Statius is describing a *consilium* which convened to plan Domitian's campaign in 83 against the

[18] Tacitus' biting attack on the *delatores* (*Hist.*, I, 2) who obtained priesthoods and consulships as spoils surely does not refer to Veiento as Groag suggested (col. 1941, 44-8).

[19] B. Stetch suggests that senatorial rank was restored to Veiento by Vespasian: "Senatores Romani qui fuerint inde a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani exitum," *Klio,* Beih. X (1912), no. 81 (pp. 13 f.). J. Crook, *Consilium Principis* (Cambridge, 1955), no. 148 (p. 164): "Amicus of Nero, the Flavians, Nerva, Trajan. . . ." This is too sweeping a statement: Crook's earlier comments (pp. 51, 53 f.) are more conservative.

[20] *A. E.*, 1948, 56; *C. I. L.*, XVI, 158. In Suppl. (1955) with photographs, Plate VII. a-b. Veiento's name line 10 (outside): *Gatlo,* to be corrected to *Gallo*; also Fa*bricio*. Not in M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge, 1961) (on p. 7 *cos II* for 80).

[21] Quoted from a lost *scholium* (*ad* Juv., 4, 94). F. Buecheler, *Rh. M.*, XXXVIII (1884), pp. 283-5 (item VII) first pointed out the significance of the nomen Fabius applied to Veiento. Cf. G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954), notes 12, 14, on ch. X (pp. 258-61). "Under Domitian he was a well-known informer. . ." (p. 261). The text is cited from Baehrens-Morel, *Fragm. poet. Lat.* (1927), p. 134.

Chatti for which he received a triumph and the *cognomen ex virtute* Germanicus.[22] Veiento is preceded by the blind Catullus Messalinus to whom the dangling *lumina* refers, linked with Vibius Crispus as *ter consul*, and with the aged Acilius *pater*. This is probably the year in which Veiento and Crispus held their third consulships,[23] and Veiento certainly accompanied Domitian as *comes* in the campaign.

There is also no question but that this passage in Statius is the basis of Juvenal's savage parody in the fourth satire.[24] The four men in the fragment all appear in the Turbot Council.[25] Here we can be sure that the men named were actually members of Domitian's council—so far the satirist aids the historian, but any other evidence must be used with extreme caution. Much leeway should be allowed to a poet treating history, as Cicero points out in his discussion of his own epic *Marius* (*Leg.*, I, 3-5). However, Juvenal perverts the history of Domitian's reign beyond all excuse. A single example will suffice: the satire ends with a couplet stating that the death of the nobles contributed nothing to his death, rather he was assassinated when the workmen of the city feared him. This contradicts not only the accounts of Suetonius (*Dom.*, 14-17, 23) and Dio (LXVII, 14-18), but, what is worse, common sense.

Veiento enters the Turbot Council with Catullus Messalinus (4,112):

et cum mortifero prudens Veiiento Catullo.

After this innocuous introduction Juvenal pictures him as a blatant sycophant (123-9):

[22] This was no sham victory as the enemies of the emperor derisively called it: cf. Syme in *C. A. H.*, XI (1936), pp. 162-4.

[23] Groag (col. 1940) suggests a year from 82-85 or 88. The latter date cannot stand since the *fasti Potentini* are complete for the years 87-91: N. Alfieri, *Athenaeum*, XXVI (1948), p. 116 (text), pp. 122-9 (commentary). McCrum and Woodhead, p. 11 (listed as of 83?); cf. Syme, *Tacitus*, II, p. 633.

[24] Highet, *loc. cit.* and p. 79. The first lines of the first satire of Juvenal set the tone of his hate of the writers of epic (1, 1-13), perhaps even of Virgil (9: . . . *quid agant venti*, . . .). Juvenal is cited from the text of Clausen (1959).

[25] J. A. Crook, *Consilium Principis*, pp. 50-2.

non cedit Veiiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo diuinat et 'ingens
omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi.
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Aruiragus. peregrina est belua: cernis
erectas in terga sudes?' hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.

There is no hint of *delatio* in the case of Veiento, except possibly in the sly innuendo of having him enter with Catullus Messalinus ("guilt by association" which we shall see even more strongly hinted in Pliny).

Two further references in Juvenal: the first (3,185: *ut te respiciat clauso Veiiento labello*) merely emphasizes his haughtiness. The second is puzzling. One type of the disgusting women whom he portrays in his sixth satire is the woman infatuated by a gladiator. The *exemplar* is Eppia, wife of a senator, who deserts her husband, children, sister to follow her lover, the gladiator Sergius, to Egypt (6, 82-112), but at the end (112-13):

hic Sergius idem
accepta rude coepisset Veiiento videri.

Is Eppia the wife of Veiento whose name was Attica (both names are dactyls), or is Veiento merely a type of *senex*?[26]

[26] Groag in *R.-E.*, *s. v.* "Eppius 4" (1909) digested Juvenal and then cited Friedlaender's note (1895) (*ad* 6, 113) which suggested the alternatives. Later (*P. I. R.*², F 91, 1933) Groag is inclined to believe that Eppia is not Attica. It is clear that Juvenal sometimes used metrically equivalent cover names. The practice is probably not so common as is implied by Highet in his long and persuasive note on Juvenal and the circle of the younger Pliny (pp. 289-94), but there are surely instances (often they escape the ancient and modern commentators) and this might be one. Since Veiento's praetorship is about 54, he was probably born not later than 24 (and probably earlier). Attica is not attested except in the inscription below which is not earlier than 83. Most noble Roman wives were younger than their husbands, and Attica could have been much younger. A good example is Calpurnia, Pliny's third wife. He was already a consular senator when he married her, and she seems to have been a girl in her teens: cf. Sherwin-White, *ad* IV, 1 pr.; 19 pr.; 19, 4. Several years later the poor girl was so young and inexperienced that she did not know she was pregnant and consequently suffered a miscarriage for which her husband rather heartlessly blamed her (*Ep.*, VIII, 10). We might guess in the case of Attica and Veiento

A bronze tablet found at Moguntiacum (Mainz) in Germania superior, at the confluence of the Main and the Rhine, a natural site for Domitian's headquarters in the war with the Chatti, gives the full name of Veiento and confirms his third consulship:[27]

> A(ulus) Didius Gallus / *F*abricius Veiento co(n)s(ul) / III, XV vir sacris faciend(is), / sodalis Augustal(is), sod(alis) Flavial(is), / sod(alis) Titialis, et Attica eius (uxor), / Nemeton(ae) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).
>
> Aulus Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento, thrice consul, a member of the board of fifteen for sacred rites, priest of Augustus, of the Flavians, of Titus Tatius, and Attica his wife rightfully and freely paid their vow to Nemetona.

As stated above, Veiento was probably consul for the third time in 83, which is also the best date for this inscription since Veiento was surely *comes imperatoris* in this year.[28]

The concentration of priestly offices is of great interest. We cannot tell when he became *quindecimvir*: possibly under Nero before his exile in 62. He may even have become a member while his adoptive father was still alive.[29] When Veiento became *sodalis*

an age difference so great that she might run off to Egypt with a gladiator. Still the problem cannot be solved. Highet (p. 261) ". . . Juvenal could easily have used Eppia as a metrical substitute. . . ."

[27] *C. I. L.*, XIII, 7253; *I. L. S.*, 1010. In the fifth line the bronze shows IIIIALIS which is easily corrected to *Titialis*. Cf. H. C. Newton, "The Epigraphical Evidence for the Reigns of Vespasian and Titus," *Cornell Studies in Class. Phil.*, XVI (1901), p. 96, no. 216 (Nometona is a misprint). Newton (note 4): "He was noted as an informer under Domitian." Included in McCrum and Woodhead, no. 155, p. 58.

[28] Groag (*P. I. R.*^{2}) suggests 83 or 89 for the dedication. That Veiento was a member of a delegation to announce his adoption by Nerva to Trajan in 97 and that he then set up this inscription is unlikely: cf. Syme, *Tacitus*, I, pp. 16-17.

[29] Cf. M. W. H. Lewis, "The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians," *Pap. Mon. Am. Ac. Rome*, XVI (1955), pp. 48-55 (list of *XV viri*); no. 37 (A. Didius Gallus: probably elected after 23: the inscriptions are Claudian); no. 51 (Veiento: ". . . Perhaps, but probably not, *quindecimvir* under Nero . . ."). Later she specifically says Veiento was elected under Nero (p. 91). In a long note (note 3, pp. 106-7) the two men are cited as *XV viri* at different times, but the presence of father and son in the college simultaneously is cited (nos.

Augustalis and *sodalis Titius* is quite uncertain.[30] Entrance to the *sodalitas Flavialis* should probably be dated soon after Vespasian's death, possibly when he was *consul suffectus* in 80.[31] When we add to the concentration of priesthoods his Etruscan cognomen, we may speculate on an inherited interest in the details of religion.[32]

18, 29: *L. Aruntii pater et filius*). Add: Tacitus was already *XV vir* in 88 when praetor (*Ann.*, XI, 11, 3): Pliny's augurate followed his consulship by about four years (*Ep.*, IV, 8; X, 13). Both were *novi homines*, whereas Veiento was noble by adoption.

[30] Lewis, no. 28 (p. 136): "Perhaps, but probably not, *sodalis Augustalis* under Nero. . . ." Lewis, no. 9 (p. 137): "Perhaps, but probably not, *sodalis Titius* before 69. . . ." In the latter case she continues: "It is possible that Howe is correct in his assumption that Didius was *sodalis Flavialis Titialis*. . . ." Cf. G. Howe, *Fasti sacerdotum p. R. publicorum aetatis imperatoriae* (Leipzig, 1904), IX, 1 (*sodales Flaviales Titiales*), XI, 1 (p. 47). Likewise H. Dessau suggested that *sod.* in lines 4-5 of the inscription was written twice by error: a comment transmitted to J. Janssen, *Suetoni vita Domitiani* (The Hague, 1919), *ad* 4 (pp. 23-4). These *sodalitates* have been much discussed: cf. K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart, 1936), pp. 79-81. I would refer the *sodalitas Titialis* to the revival of the ancient rites under Augustus, rather than attach it to Flavian worship. Honors to *divus Titus* would be a natural function of the *sodalitas Flavialis*.

[31] Groag (*P. I. R.*[2]) suggested that Veiento was an original member of this *sodalitas*.

[32] The cognomen is Etruscan (i. e. from Veii): Iiro Kajanto, "The Latin Cognomina," *Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, XXXVI, 2 (Helsinki, 1965), p. 119 and n. 4, pp. 189-90. Kajanto also notes *Veientanus, Veientana, Veientella, Vento* to which we might add Veienta Tusca (*C. I. L.*, II, 801 where Huebner emends to *Veiania*). Kajanto does not note the use of *Veiento* as a cognomen with several different nomina: Firmius (*C. I. L.*, IV, 3850); Usulenus (P. Usulenus Veientonis l(ibertus) / Phileros, *C. I. L.*, XII, 5370; *I. L. S.*, 5421). Also two items from Clusium on the same man (*C. I. L.*, XI, 7129-30) of which the former and fuller has the typical Etruscan usage with the mother's name: *C. Arinius C. f.* / *Veiento* / *Titia Suen(ia)* / *cnatus*. Zangemeister prints a broken six-line epitaph from Zahlbach, now at Moguntiacum, with some restoration, but it can be fully restored except for line 5 (*C. I. L.*, XII, 7099): Primige/nia C. Plau/ti Veiento/nis (uxor) an(n)o(rum) / . . . . / h(ic) s(ita) e(st). A rare cognomen: Kajanto (p. 190) speaks of 13 examples in *C. I. L.* (including at least some of the examples noted above). For the difficulties in using Kajanto and strictures upon his methods cf.

It is certain that Domitian was interested in and meticulous concerning *caerimoniae*: according to Suetonius (*Dom.*, 4, 4) he honored Capitoline Jupiter with quinquennial games, wearing a crown with images of the triad, and accompanied by the *flamen Dialis* and the *Flaviales* (including Veiento), he celebrated the *Quinquatria* at his Alban villa and established a *collegium* of priests of Minerva.[33] As is well known the construction of the temple of Minerva in the Forum of Nerva was largely the work of Domitian.[34] Other building, including the restoration of the Capitolium, is mentioned by Suetonius (5).[35] The punishment

the detailed and excellent review by Beryl Rawson in *C.P.*, LXIII (1968), pp. 154-9. For Caesernius Veiento, proconsul of Crete and Cyrene (A.D. 45/46), cf. *A.E.*, 1951, 207 and E. M. Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius, and Nero* (Cambridge, 1967), no. 345. A *vir polyonymus* of the second century, C. Bruttius Praesens cos. 153, 180 might be connected. A broken inscription from Volcei in Lucania preserves 13 of his names (the last is Veiento): Groag, *P.I.R.*^{2}, B 165; *I.L.S.*, 1117; *C.I.L.*, X, 408. It is just possible that Fabricius Tuscus, mentioned as a source by the Elder Pliny (*H.N.*, I, 3, 4, 6) might be connected with Veiento. Muenzer hesitatingly suggested that the man mentioned twice by Cicero (*Att.*, IV, 16, 6; VII, 3, 5) might be an ancestor of Veiento: *R.-E.*, *s.v.* "(Fabricius?)14 Veiento." Kajanto (p. 189) lists him as Fabricius Veiento, but Cicero had used only the cognomen and the variety of *nomina* noted above makes the identification unlikely. *M.R.R.*, II, p. 256, n. 1 is more cautious. A *titulus sepulcralis* for Optatus, slave of C. Perperna Veiento (*C.I.L.*, VI, 38700), confirms the cognomen of Veiento (Plut., *Sert.*, 15, 2: Vento) for the *praetorius* serving under Sertorius: cf. Muenzer in *R.-E.*, *s.v.* "Perperna 6."

[33] Cf. K. Scott, *passim*, especially Chapter 14 (Minerva, *Familiare Numen* of Domitian). For references in Martial and Statius cf. Scott's *index* (pp. 199, 202). Cf. Tac., *Hist.*, III, 74 for a shrine to *Juppiter conservator*; Suet., *Dom.*, 1, 1; 17, 3 for *templum gentis Flaviae*; Cass. Dio, LXVII, 1, 2 (Xiph.) for his reverence for Minerva. A. D. Nock's comment "Domitian was a man of religious feeling . . ." is quite correct: "Religious Development from Vespasian to Trajan," *Theology*, XVI (1928), p. 156 (the whole article, pp. 152-60, puts this concept of Domitian in perspective).

[34] Cf. S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1929), *s.v.* "Forum Nervae"; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York, 1961), I, p. 433.

[35] To this could be added Domitian's restoration of Neronian *areae* and *arae* (dedicated after the great fire) in Rome, and the establishment of annual sacrifices on the Vulcanalia *incendiorum arcendorum causa*: *C.I.L.*, VI, 826, 30837 (*I.L.S.*, 4919); cf. Wissowa in Roscher, *Lex.*, *s.v.* "Volcanus" (1925) (cols. 359-60).

of unchaste Vestal Virgins, even by entombment (*more veteri*), is attested frequently.[36] The famous banquet, probably in 89, which Domitain gave for senators and equestrians is described in detail by Dio (LXVII, 9) : black accoutrements, grave stones, talk of death; first terror for the guests, then lavish gifts. Dio's words (". . . such was the funeral banquet that Domitian held for those who died in Dacia and in Rome") may indicate this as some exotic ritual to placate the *Dii Inferi* or honor the *Dii Manes*.

These interests of Domitian may explain Veiento's prominence during his reign. In 62 his *Codicilli* had directed attacks *in patres et sacerdotes* (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 50), and we may conjecture that he was attacking their levity and inattention to ritual. Again in Juvenal's fourth satire we have seen Veiento parodied as giving forth a frivolous *sententia* under the influence of Bellona (*ut fanaticus oestro / percussus* in lines 123-4). It is easy to guess that in Statius Veiento speaks under the influence of the gods, especially Bellona, and as their priest. Then the question arises about the dedication to Nematona. In an inscription from Mannheim the dedication is a joint dedication to Mars and Nematona [37] which makes it extremely likely that this Gallic goddess is to be identified with Bellona [38] or with Minerva in her warlike character. How appropriate then that Veiento and

[36] Suet., *Dom.*, 8, 4-5; Plin., *Ep.*, IV, 11: Cass. Dio, LXVII, 3, 3^2, 4^1. Pliny casts doubt upon the guilt of Cornelia, *Virgo Vestalis maxima*, but surely, as often, his prejudice against Domitian will not allow him historical perspective: cf. Sherwin-White's notes, especially *ad* IV, 11, 6. If this letter is Pliny's example of how to write history, as was recently suggested, we may be glad he confined himself to orations, light verse, and letters: cf. H. W. Traub, "Pliny's Treatment of History in Epistolary Form," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXXVI (1955), pp. 213-32 (on this letter, pp. 219-20).

[37] *C.I.L.*, XIII, 6131; *I.L.S.*, 4586 (*Marti et Nemato/nae*). Also *C.I.L.*, VII, 36; *I.L.S.*, 4586a; *R.I.B.*, 140 (a dedication to Mars Loucetius and Nemetona at Bath in Britain by a citizen of Trier). Zangemeister: Deam ad rem militarem pertinuisse inde patet, quod titulis duobus Marti sociata est et cum tertio prodierunt arma grandia olim in sacrario illo dedicata. Cf. Ihm in Roscher, *Lex.*, *s.v.* "Nemetona," and A. Ernout in *Mélanges . . . offerts à Jérôme Carcopino* (1966), pp. 315-17 (Loucetius as an epithet of Mars).

[38] I prefer this to Heichelheim's suggestion of Victoria: *R.-E.*, *s.v.* "Nemetona."

Attica should make an offering to her. We have seen above that Veiento was among those *Flaviales* who sat with Domitian to honor Jupiter, and that Veiento as a senior member of the *XV viri* was involved in the *ludi saeculares* of 88, perhaps even second only to Domitian, as M. Agrippa had been second only to Augustus in the celebration of 17 B. C.[39]

Finally in considering this inscription a tenuous guess might be made that Attica may in some way be connected with T. Pomponius whom we might identify as Suetonius did twice (*Tib.*, 7, 2; *Gr.* 16) as the man *ad quem sunt Ciceronis epistulae.*[40]

[39] Cf. *I. L. S.*, 5050.104 *et al.*

[40] Groag does no more than list her as the wife of Veiento with a reference to this inscription: *P. I. R.*^{2}, A 1330. Sir Ronald Syme, usually so ingenious, gave up with the words: "Attica . . . cannot be linked to any group or family" (*Tacitus*, II, p. 633). My references run in a circle which can be entered at almost any point: the connecting link is service by men in that far-off and barbarous province of Britain. In 57 Pomponia Graecina, wife of A. Plautius, was defendant on a charge of exotic superstition, and was handed over to her husband for trial. He declared her innocent. She apparently had spent years in mourning ever since Julia, daughter of the Younger Drusus, had been killed in 43 by the trap of Messalina. So far Tacitus (*Ann.*, XIII, 32). We know that this Julia was the great-great-granddaughter of Atticus through his daughter Caecilia (Pomponia) Attica (cf. *P. I. R.*^{1}, P 573 where it is noted that the name Pomponia does not appear in the ancient sources). Furneaux (*ad loc.*) speaks of Atticus' daughter as Pomponia, and this may well have been part of her name, since Atticus apparently continued to use the name Pomponius after his adoption by his uncle (cf. Cic., *Att.*, III, 20: heading). Consequently Furneaux assumes, and probably correctly, that Julia was related to Pomponia Graecina (could *Graecina* be from *Attica*?). This A. Plautius was consul in 29 and legate of Britain in 43 (Tac., *Agr.*, 14): *P. I. R.*^{1}, P 344. He was there succeeded by P. Ostorius Scapula in 47, who died there: *P. I. R.*^{1}, O 112. His son M. Scapula, consul in 59, is the man at whose dinner party Antistius Sosianus read his poetic attack on Nero in 62 (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV, 48-9) for which Antistius was exiled. M. Scapula testified at Antistius' trial that he had heard nothing. It should be added that M. Scapula had won the *corona civica* for bravery while serving under his father in Britain (Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 31). On the son *P. I. R.*^{1}, O 111. As we have seen above the next chapter in Tacitus (*Ann.*, XIV, 50) tells of Veiento's *Codicilli.* Is it possible that this book too was read at the house of M. Scapula? Veiento was the adopted son of A. Didius who was in Britain as legate probably from 52 to 58, just after P. Scapula's death in Britain. For Didius *P. I. R.*^{2},

An inscription recently discovered by F. Benoit in the excavation of a santcuary at Arles [41] is even more important in interpreting the career of Veiento. In an area dedicated to the *numen Augusti* [42] there were found three fragments of a dedication to a man who had been three times consul.[43]

I . . . . . COS III . . . . . .
XV *uiro sacris faciun*DIS.SO*d*ALI A*ugustali* . . .
TITIALI.C . . . . . S.PROVINCIAE . . . .
PRO PR.PRO*uinciae* . . .LEG . . . . . .
ET LEGIONIS . . . . . .
AVGVST . . . . . .
AVGVST . . . . . .
T . . . . . .

M. Benoit commented thus: ". . . datant de la seconde moitié du Ier s.; peut-être, A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento. . . ." The same doubt is expressed in *A. E.* and the name is indexed with a question mark. The date is correct, but the doubt about identification is unnecessary.

Of the eight men who held a third consulship, excluding members of the imperial household, between 47 and 107, none is attested for the priestly offices here listed except Veiento.[44]

D 70. My suggestion is that these men with common service in Britain may have formed a group—then it would be possible that Attica was related in some way to Pomponia Graecina and that both can be among the descendants of Cicero's friend. To be sure the threads in this spider-web of conjecture are thin. However one more possibility: Agricola had served as *tribunus militum* under Suetonius Paulinus who succeeded Didius Gallus in Britain (*Agr.*, 5). Perhaps Tacitus' information about Britain was supplemented by questioning of his senior colleague in the *XV viri* whom he could already have known as one connected with this hypothetical circle of ex-officials in Britain.

[41] "Le sanctuaire d'Arles," *R. A.*, XXXIX (1952), pp. 31-67.

[42] A large marble inscription: *nu*mini *Augusti* (p. 54; *A. E.*, 1952, 167). A marble copy of the *clipeus aureus* dedicated to Augustus and placed in the *curia* in 27 (pp. 48-53; *A. E.*, 1952, 165).

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 54; *A. E.*, 1952, 168. Benoit's text varies from the text in *A. E.* only in the number of dots and in a question mark after the *C* in line 3. The text as quoted is from *A. E.* The placing of the fragments and Benoit's restorations are certainly correct. The full form of the chief priesthood fits the fuller forms in lines 3 (*provinciae*) and 5 (*legionis*).

[44] L. Vitellius (consul III, 47), the favorite adviser of Claudius, was

M. Benoit did not go beyond the obvious restorations, and surely more can be restored. The lines of the inscription were certainly longer than the transcript suggests (about 50 instead of about 44 letters or spaces per line). The second line probably ended with a reference to the *sodalitas Flavialis*. Although the following restoration is speculative, most of it probably is close to the original.[45]

frater Arvalis (Howe, XIV, p. 21), and was certainly not *XV vir* (cf. his famous remark to Claudius at the time of the *ludi saeculares*: Suet., *Vit.*, 2). C. Licinius Mucianus (cos III, 72), the kingmaker, was *fr. Arv.* (Howe, XIV, p. 59). Q. Vibius Crispus (cos III, 83?), the colleague of Veiento—priestly office unknown. L. Verginius Rufus (cos III, 97), not listed in Howe, but probably *augur*, since he used to nominate Pliny: *Ep.*, II, 1, 8: cf. M. Schuster in *R.-E.*, *s.v.* "Verginius 27"—col. 1540.2-3: "Es wird sich wohl um den Augurat handeln, den Plinius spaeter bekam." Sex. Julius Frontinus (cos III, 100), *augur* (Howe, V, p. 42)—Pliny succeeded him (*Ep.*, IV, 8, 3). T. Vestricius Spurinna (cos III, 100)—priestly office unknown. L. Licinius Sura (cos III, 107), *pontifex* (Howe, I, p. 47) and *sodalis Augustalis* (Howe, VIII, p. 29). Cf. also Syme, *Tacitus*, II, p. 664 (App. 22, "The Sacerdotal Colleagues of Tacitus").

[45] The following exegesis on my restorations. Line 1. The filiation and the tribe (unknown) may have been included. Line 2. The preserved *I* can easily be a fragment of *F*. Mention of his colleague, likewise *ter consul*, is a conjecture I owe to Prof. James H. Oliver. Line 3. Possibly *faciendis* (the more modern form as in the inscription from Mainz). Since the *sodalitas Augustalis* is the most important of the *sodalitates* (cf. Lewis, pp. 155, 159), *Flaviali* would naturally follow it. Line 4. The order of other *sodalitates* varies (cf. Lewis, p. 156). For a descending *cursus honorum* (cos, priesthoods, *comes*, regular positions) *comes* would occur at this place. We might expect *imperatoris* or *Domitiani*, but this inscription was set up while Domitian was alive and as a consequence the supplementary word is not needed. For *Africae* the alternative is *Asiae*, since so distinguished a man would certainly receive one of these two provinces at this point in his career. Line 5. *Syriae* is guesswork, but he should have a *provincia consularis*. The dates for these two positions cannot be determined. I assume that the next two positions were held by Veiento as *praetorius*, either under Nero before his exile in 62, or early in Vespasian's reign. Line 6. There is room for another office either before or after his praetorship in 54. His quaestorship would surely fall under Claudius. Lines 7 ff. In the last two or more lines there might have been an office of the vigintivirate, preliminary military service, local municipal offices, or all of these. Perhaps the name of his wife Attica may be added.

A. Didio A. f(ilio) ... (... *tribu*) *Gallo / Fabricio Veientoni,* co(n)s(uli) III, *cum Q. Vibio Crispo co(n)s(ule) III, /* XV *viro sacris faciun*dis, sodali, *Augustali, Flaviali, /* Titiali, *comiti, procos* provinciae *Africae, leg(ato) Augusti /* pro pr(aetore) pro*vinciae Syriae,* leg(ato) *Augusti provinciae* .... // et legionis.....*praetori, quaestori divi Claudi /* August*i,* ..... / t ..... / *et Atticae eius* (*uxori*) .....

To Aulus Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento, son of Aulus, of the ... tribe, thrice consul, with Quintus Vibius Crispus, thrice consul, a member of the board of fifteen for sacred rites, companion (of the emperor), priest of Augustus, of the Flavians, of Titus Tatius, proconsul of the province of Africa, legate of Augustus with propraetorian power of the province of Syria, legate of Augustus of the province of ..... and of legion ..., praetor, quaestor of the deified Claudius Augustus, ... and to Attica his wife ...

This *titulus honorarius* was probably erected by the citizens of Arelatum as a reward for some gift or favor, or in anticipation of such largess from an imperial favorite. It would be rash to suggest that he was *patronus* of the city, or that this was his place of origin.

I would date it after 83 when I believe we can date the Mainz inscription. I would suggest the years between 88 and 96—after the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* and before Domitian's death.

We can see now that Veiento's career is more normal under the Flavians than had been assumed from the literary evidence, or from the two inscriptions earlier known. We can now be certain that he was *comes* of Domitian, as his adoptive father had been under Claudius.[46] It is no longer necessary to assume

[46] Groag (*P. I. R.*²) had already suggested that Veiento was officially *comes*. His adoptive father was *comes Claudi* in 43. This follows the

minimal or no military experience. He was *legatus legionis* and governor of at least three provinces—surely in command of troops at one time.[47] There were certainly long periods when he was in Rome as a member of the *consilium principis,* but his was by no means wholly a civil career.

The younger Pliny in his letters twice refers to Veiento, both times in retrospect. We can hardly expect him to be complimentary to this adviser of Domitian during whose reign Pliny either was or, what is just as traumatic, thought he was slated for death (*Ep.*, VII, 27, 14) at the hands of the *delator* Mettius Carus. Moreover he had gratuitously exposed himself to the anger of Baebius Massa, a brave but foolish act which he relates to Tacitus with the hope that his bravery would be immortalized in his friend's *Historiae* (*Ep.*, VII, 33). In fact it does him credit that he withstood the pressure when, as he said, the lightning singed him during his praetorship (*Ep.*, III, 11, 3): . . . *septem amicis meis aut occisis aut relegatis, occisis Senecione Rustico Heluidio, relegatis Maurico Gratilla Arria Fannia,* . . . .

Both incidents which concern Veiento seem to have occurred early in 97 within the first year of Nerva's brief reign. The anecdote concerning a dinner party which included the emperor, Veiento, and Junius Mauricus who had recently returned from exile seems to be the earlier (*Ep.*, IV, 22, 4-6):[48]

> . . . Cenabat Nerua cum paucis; Veiento proximus atque etiam in sinu recumbebat: dixi omnia cum hominem nominaui. Incidit sermo de Catullo Messalino, qui luminibus orbatus ingenio saeuo mala caecitatis addiderat: non uere-

emendation of *C. I. L.*, III, 7247 (*I. L. S.*, 970) by J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, X (1941), no. 40, pp. 239-41 (*A. E.*, 1947, 76). Cf. Oliver, *A. J. P.*, LXIX (1948), pp. 219-22 (*A. E.*, 1949, 11) and *G. R. B. S.*, VI (1965), p. 53. E. M. Smallwood, *Documents . . . Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge, 1967), no. 226 (accepting Oliver's emendations). Syme (*Tacitus*, I, p. 386, n. 4) is hesitant: "Add perhaps A. Didius Gallus. . . ."

[47] Syme in speaking of consular senators who aided Vesparian comments (II, p. 594): ". . . Smooth and acceptable persons (birth, eloquence, or court favour) such as Cocceius Nerva, Fabricius Veiento, and Catullus Messalinus, useful in Senate or cabinet but not (so far as known) governors of any consular province."

[48] Text of Mynors (1963).

> batur, non erubescebat, non miserebatur; quo saepius a Domitiano non secus ac tela, quae et ipsa caeca et improuida feruntur, in optimum quemque contorquebatur. De huius nequitia sanguinariisque sententiis in commune omnes super cenam loquebantur, cum ipse imperator: 'Quid putamus passurum fuisse si uiueret?' Et Mauricus: 'Nobiscum cenaret.'

It is difficult to censure Mauricus for his outrageous breach of etiquette, for his brother Junius Arulenus Rusticus had been killed by Domitian, while he and his sister-in-law Gratilla had been banished, as is noted in the quotation above. Hard too, to censure Pliny for his admiration of Mauricus. Both bitterly hated Domitian [49] and all of his agents, good and bad alike. But Mauricus at the dinner, and Pliny, some years later, insult Veiento unjustifiably by the implication that he and Catullus were both evil and *delatores*: this is an even more overt innuendo than that of the savage satirist: Nerva knew better and profited by Veiento's knowledge. To be sure, Nerva deserved the embarrassment since he should not have invited to the same dinner an *amicus Domitiani* and Mauricus.[50]

About the same time Pliny attacked in the senate Publicius Certus, the *delator* who had destroyed the younger Helvidius in 93. At the time, exalted by anger, he had published his senatorial speeches, but years later in telling the story of that senatorial meeting to a young friend he could still rouse the same hot emotion (*Ep.*, IX, 13). During the meeting Pliny's friends urged him to desist, and only two spoke for him and those with hesitation. Five opposed: first the *consul designatus*,[51] then Veiento, perhaps senior *senator consularis* present, then three

[49] Cf. the highly colored account, referred to above, of the punishment of the Vestal Cornelia (*Ep.*, IV, 11, 5-14). When consul Pliny vented his hatred in his *actio gratiarum* by the constant contrast between good (Trajan) and evil (Domitian): black and white, no shading. Cf. for example *Pan.*, 3, 4 where we find these contrasting pairs: *humanitas, superbia; frugalitas, luxuria; clementia, crudelitas; liberalitas, avaritia; benignitas, livor; continentia, libido; labor, inertia; fortitudo, timor.* Good rhetoric, but bad history.

[50] Syme's ingenious suggestion that Nerva planned the whole matter to stop remarks on Domitian's friends is most unlikely: *Tacitus*, I, p. 6.

[51] Domitius Apollinaris—*suffectus* for 97: E. M. Smallwood, *Documents . . . Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 2.

others including the stepfather of Pliny's late second wife. Even allowing for exaggeration in recollection Pliny in his main speech reached the heights of eloquence for he turned the tide. Earlier he had been interrupted by shouts of opposition, but at the end when Veiento tried to pour oil on troubled waters, he spoke in vain (19-20):

> . . . Incipit respondere Veiento; nemo patitur; obturbatur obstrepitur, adeo quidem ut diceret: 'Rogo, patres conscripti, ne me cogatis implorare auxilium tribunorum.' Et statim Murena tribunus: 'Permitto tibi, uir clarissime Veiento, dicere.' Tunc quoque reclamatur. Inter moras consul citatis nominibus et peracta discessione mittit senatum, ac paene adhuc stantem temptantemque dicere Veientonem reliquit. Multum ille de hac (ita uocabat) contumelia questus est Homerico uersu:
>
> Ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί.[52]

Pliny's victory was an empty one, for Nerva, probably on the advice of his *consilium* which surely included Veiento, did not present to the senate a *relatio* which would have allowed a prosecution of Certus by Pliny. Certus did not escape unscathed since he was deprived of a promised consulship. Shortly after Pliny published his speeches Certus died and rumor had it that Pliny pursued him in his dreams with a sword! A *stilus* would have been more appropriate. Nor did Pliny escape unscathed—the pressures of the last days of Domitian, heavy tasks in the treasury, doubts over Nerva's successor, the loss of his second wife, and the excitement of attacking Domitian's friends united to bring on an illness, psychosomatic without doubt, in 98-99[53] which he described as almost fatal (*usque ad periculum uitae*: *Ep.*, X, 5, cf. 6-11).

There is no further reference to Veiento in Pliny and we cannot be sure that he outlived Nerva, but, if he did, probably briefly. In Pliny's *actio gratiarum* of 100 there is in the section on Trajan's refusal in 98 of a third consulship for 99 a reference to a man *ter consul* who was sitting in the senate at that time (*Pan.*, 58, 2). This may have been Veiento.[54]

[52] *Il.*, VIII, 102: Diomedes addresses Nestor.

[53] Sherwin-White, *ad* X, 5, pr.

[54] So Syme suggested: *J. R. S.*, XX (1930), p. 61, n. 4, but M. Durry in his edition (1938) lists this *ter consul* as "inconnu."

The last reference to Veiento occurs in the *epitome de Caesaribus* (pseudo-Victor) by an anonymous author writing at the end of the fourth century or early in the fifth.[55] The section on Nerva is notable for its fuller treatment and for a better tradition than that found in Victor's *de Caesaribus*.[56] The specific reference echoes Pliny (*Epit.*, 12, 5):

> Hic ne accessu malivolorum terretur, Iunii Maurici, constantis viri, dicto ita admonetur: Qui convivio familiari adhibitus cum Veientonem consulari honore functum quidem apud Domitianum, tamen multos occultis criminationibus persecutum adesse vidisset, inter colloquia mentione Catulli facta, calumniatoris praecipui, dicente Nerva: "Quid nunc faceret, si Domitiano supervixisset?; 'Nobiscum,' inquit Mauricus, 'cenaret.' . . .

It is obvious that the author had before him the passage from the letter quoted above (IV, 22). The reason given for Mauricus' remark is clearly a subjective interpretation.[57] The statement that Veiento held a consulship under Domitian is correct, but *multos occultis criminationibus persecutum* is obviously a mistaken inference from Pliny's juxtaposition of the names of Veiento and Catullus Messalinus.

In summary then, the discussion above has demonstrated that the role of Veiento needed reassessment. His unpopularity as an adviser, perhaps the chief adviser of Domitian, laid him open to the hatred which such an association would entail. Not only

[55] Cf. Fr. Pichlmayr (edition rev. by R. Gruendel, Leipzig, 1961), p. XII. S. E. Stout in his discussion of the nine- and ten-book tradition of Pliny's letters commented that the only author before the end of the fifth century who showed any evidence of having seen the ten-book manuscript was Tertullian, about 200, who knew the contents of X, 96-7: *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters* (1954), p. 2. This passage in the *epitome* may be added. For other echoes of Pliny's letters before Sidonius Apollinaris cf. A. Cameron, "The Fate of Pliny's Letters in the Late Empire," *C. Q.*, XV (1965), pp. 289-98.

[56] In Victor 13 lines, in the *epitome* 52 lines (text of Pichlmayr). In the short passage in Victor we have two incredible statements: a Cretan origin for Nerva and an exile among the Sequani (12, 1-2): cf. Garzetti, p. 5.

[57] For the epitomator's tendency (shared by so many modern scholars) to make ingenious but incorrect interpretative additions cf. J. A. Crook, *A. J. P.*, LXXII (1951), pp. 167-9, especially notes 27, 31.

were his ability and usefulness in forming imperial policy derogated, but after Domitian's death he was subjected to insult and the false implication that he participated in *delatio*. Further scrutiny allows us to picture him as an able administrative assistant for an emperor whose imperial policies were not reversed by his successors no matter how severely his memory was execrated. Veiento seems to have been a religious man and an able diplomat in difficult times. The new inscription from Arles which clearly should be assigned to him gives us his background of experience in imperial administration. Of a certainty then his position as *ter consul* resulted from substantial service to the state and was not just the result of the personal favor of Domitian. There are no real signs of the overt sycophancy that marred the career of L. Vitellius, nor did he gain that third consulship so easily as did that group of second-rate *consulares* in 97-100—Rufus, Frontinus, and Spurinna. He reminds us rather of Mucianus and Sura whose third consulships were rewards for genuine services to emperor and to Rome. It was not vanity when he likens himself to Homeric Nestor, and Statius wrote wisely when he dubbed him Fabius Veiento.

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JOSEPHUS, *A. J.*, XIX, 251-252: OPPOSITION TO GAIUS AND CLAUDIUS.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ 1
οἰκειότησι γάμου· καὶ γὰρ Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον καὶ 2
τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν 3
Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν, πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι 4
τῶν πραγμάτων, κατεῖχον δὲ οἱ ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ 5
προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. Οὐαλέριον δὲ Ἀσιατικὸν Μινουκιανὸς 6
ἐκ τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων ἀνεῖχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν.[1] 7

1 *τε* AE: *γε* MW 2 *οἰκειότησι* AMW: *οἰκειότητι* E *μινουκιανὸσ* AMW, Niese: *μινουκιανὸν* E: minutianus Lat. (A et L): *Βινίκιον* Naber: *Βινίκιος* Feldman[2] *μάρκον* AWE, Niese, Naber: *μάρκοσ* M, Feldman: marcum Lat. (A et L) 3 *τὸ* AWE: *τῶν* M *δὴ* A, Niese: *δι'* MW: om. E 4 *πρόθυμόσ τε ἦν* A, Niese, Feldman: *πρόθυμόσ γε ἦν* MW: *πρόθυμον ὄντα* E, Naber: minutianus namque marcum fortitudine dignum qui iuliam gai sororem habebat uxorem studebat [studebat Lat. (L): audebant Lat. (A)] eligere ut rerum culmine potiretur Lat. 5 *δὲ* A, Niese, Feldman: om. MWE, Naber 6 *οὐαλέριον* AWE: *οὐαλλέριον* M *δὲ* A, Niese, Feldman: *τε* MWE, Naber *μινουκιανὸσ* AMW, Niese, post *σφαγέων* ponit E: *Βινουκιανὸς* Naber, Feldman 7 *ἐκ* AMWE: *εἰς* coni. Niese *σφαγέων* AE: *σφαγῶν* MW

Different texts of *A. J.*, XIX, 251-2—for example, those of Niese and Naber—can lead to quite different conclusions about the contest in the Roman Senate, on the morrow of the assassination of the Emperor Gaius, over the appointment of an im-

[1] The text is that of B. Niese (*Flavii Iosephi Opera* [7 vols.; Berlin, 1885-1895]), who here follows A closely. The apparatus, which is fuller than Niese's and corrects him on some points, is based on the following manuscripts, of which I have examined facsimiles: A = cod. Ambros. F 128 sup.; M = cod. Laur. plut. 69.10; W = cod. Vat. gr. 984; E = cod. Laur. plut. 69.23; Lat. (A) = cod. Ambros. A 220 inf.; Lat. (L) = cod. Laur. plut. 66.2 (Lat. refers to the Latin Josephus). I am indebted to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, which provided me with copies of their manuscripts.

Josephus, *A. J.* and *B. J.* will be cited as *A. J.* and *B. J.*

[2] Josephus, Vol. IX: *Jewish Antiquities, Books XVIII-XX*, trans. L. H. Feldman ("Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

perial candidate to challenge the succession of Claudius; they can also entail significantly different interpretations of the political career of L. Annius Vinicianus and of the two opposition movements of which he was a leader—the conspiracy to assassinate Gaius and the *bellum civile* of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus against Claudius in 42. The purpose of this article is to propose a new text of the passage and to discuss briefly its implications for the history of the opposition to Gaius and Claudius in 41 and 42.

The following paragraph gives the context of the event recounted by Josephus:

> On January 24, 41, the Emperor Gaius was assassinated by officers of the Praetorian Guard acting in conspiracy with a number of prominent persons led by L. Annius Vinicianus (*cos.* before 41).[3] Within hours a struggle ensued over the succession. The Senate was disposed to follow the lead of the conspirators and the consuls (Cn. Sentius Saturninus and Q. Pomponius Secundus), who made *libertas* their watchword and sought a restoration of the Republic.[4] It was opposed by Claudius, who had been acclaimed emperor by the rank and file of the Praetorian Guard.[5] Although the senators were not deterred at first by the elevation of Claudius,[6] fuller knowledge of his backing among the Prae-

[3] It is safe to assume (with A. Degrassi, *I fasti consolari dell' impero romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo* [Rome, 1952], p. 12; cf. *P. I. R.*², I, p. 125, no. 701) that Vinicianus would not have been suggested as a successor to Gaius in 41 (Dio, LX, 15, 1) had he not held the consulship.

[4] *A. J.*, XIX, 54, 160-1, 166-88, 263 (cf. *B. J.*, II, 205, 209; Suet., *Cal.*, 60; *Claud.*, 10, 3; Dio-Ioann. Antioch., LIX, 30, 3; Dio-Xiph.-Zon., LX, 1, 1).

[5] Although four of the tribunes of the Praetorian Guard are known to have been members of the conspiracy (*P. I. R.*², II, p. 113, no. 488 [Chaerea]; II, p. 354, no. 1431; IV, p. 230, no. 388; *P. I. R.*¹, III, p. 10, no. 73), it appears that no Praetorian cohort followed them in taking the side of the Senate against Claudius. Suetonius identifies the troops supporting the Senate as *cohortes urbanae* (*Claud.*, 10, 3), of which there were probably three stationed in Rome at this time (Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 5, 3). Josephus gives the number of cohorts loyal to the Senate now as three (*B.J.*, II, 205), now as four (*A. J.*, XIX, 188) without specifying to which force they belonged.

[6] The speech of the consul Saturninus urging the Senate to recover its liberty was apparently delivered in full knowledge of Claudius' ele-

torians [7] soon overawed the majority of them. One hundred at most dared to attend the Senate's meeting on January 25 (*A.J.*, XIX, 248-9), and these could not agree on a course of action. When the *cohortes urbanae,* which had so far supported the Senate but were wavering, now demanded that it appoint an emperor,[8] *a number of senators came forward as candidates, including M. Vinicius (cos., 30) and D. Valerius Asiaticus (cos., 35). But the candidature of Vinicius was blocked by the consuls, that of Asiaticus by L. Annius Vinicianus*; the rest renounced their claims out of fear of Claudius.[9] Sensing the futility of the Senate's position, the soldiers departed abruptly for the Praetorian camp to join Claudius, leaving the senators no alternative but to throw themselves on his mercy.[10]

I

Niese's text, which is printed above, has been accepted by most scholars and is the source of the usual assumption that on January 25 L. Annius Vinicianus (Μινουκιανός)[11] promoted the attempt of M. Vinicius (Μᾶρκος), the brother-in-law of the Emperor Gaius,[12] to be named emperor, but was frustrated in this by the consuls.[13] It follows from this assumption either that

vation (*A.J.*, XIX, 166). It was received with strong approbation (*ibid.*, 185). See also *ibid.*, 232, 242; *B.J.*, II, 205, 209; Dio-Xiph., LX, 1, 4.

[7] *A.J.*, XIX, 234; see note 5.

[8] *A.J.*, XIX, 249-50; cf. 254; *B.J.*, II, 211; cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 10, 3-4; see note 5.

[9] *A.J.*, XIX, 251-3; cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 10, 4; Dio, LX, 3, 2, 5.

[10] *A.J.*, XIX, 254-60, 263-6; *B.J.*, II, 211-14; Dio-Xiph., LX, 1, 4.

[11] *P.I.R.*[2], I, p. 125, no. 701. His name takes the form Μινουκιανός in *A.J.*

[12] *P.I.R.*[1], III, p. 436, no. 445.

[13] Groag in *P.I.R.*[2], I, p. 125, no. 701; Z. Stewart, "Sejanus, Gaetulicus, and Seneca," *A.J.P.*, LXXIV (1953), p. 77; D. McAlindon, "Senatorial Opposition to Claudius and Nero," *A.J.P.*, LXXVII (1956), pp. 128-9; R. Hanslik, *R.-E.*, IX A (1961), col. 118; D. Timpe, *Untersuchungen zur Kontinuität des frühen Prinzipats* (*Historia: Einzelschriften*, V [Wiesbaden, 1962]), pp. 83, 89, n. 2; cf. p. 86; R. Syme, "The Historian Servilius Nonianus," *Hermes*, XCII (1964), p. 415; G. W. Clarke, "Seneca the Younger under Caligula," *Latomus*, XXIV (1965), p. 67, n. 4; E. Koestermann, "Ludi Cetasti," *Archivio Veneto*, LXXVII (1965), p. 7. Cf. L. H. Feldman, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 330-3.

Vinicianus had made a *volte-face* politically or that he had been dissembling his real intentions. For in the formation of the conspiracy against Gaius he had acted as a patron of *libertas* (*A. J.*, XIX, 52-9; cf. 153-4)—a fact which should link him *with* the consuls and their aim of restoring Republican government; in promoting the candidature of Vinicius, however, he aligned himself *against* the consuls, apparently having abandoned the Republican cause. The report of Dio that Vinicianus was among those proposed as successors to Gaius (LX, 15, 1) has appeared to support this conclusion by supplying a motive, in the form of imperial ambition, for his seeming opportunism. From here it is an easy step to the kind of thesis which Timpe has elaborated: that Vinicianus, backed by a faction consisting of the Prefects and certain officers of the Praetorian Guard as well as senators (though not the consuls), was from the start conspiring to acquire the Principate for himself; when he saw from the events of January 24 that his own chances of achieving the supreme power were poor, he tried to have his relative M. Vinicius elevated in his stead.[14]

But there is strong evidence that in line 2 of Niese's text Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον represents not two persons, Vinicianus and Marcus (Vinicius), but one, Marcus Vinicius.[15] Niese himself has observed[16] that at *A. J.*, XIX, 102 Μινουκιανὸς has been introduced through scribal error where Βινίκιος (Vinicius) should appear (as the context proves): προεξήεσαν δὲ Κλαύδιος μὲν ὁ πάτρως αὐτοῦ [*sc.* Γαΐου] καὶ Μᾶρκος Μινουκιανὸς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀνήρ.[17] Although Niese himself did not think so, there are a number of reasons for believing that a similar error occurred at *A. J.*, XIX, 251. (1) The nominative Μινουκιανὸς has no verb,

[14] Timpe, *op. cit.* (see note 13), pp. 80-9. Of the reviews of Timpe's book that I have seen only that of K. Sprey, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, LXXVIII (1965), pp. 206-8, has challenged this thesis.

[15] S. A. Naber (*Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia* [6 vols.; Leipzig, 1888-1896]) printed Βινίκιον Μᾶρκον (i. e., Vinicius Marcus), which is very close to being right, as I hope to show. But his text has been disregarded because of the greater prestige that Niese's edition, published at almost the same time, enjoyed. The text of Feldman—Βινίκιος Μᾶρκος—is discussed at note 21.

[16] *Op. cit.* (see note 1), Preface to Vol. III, p. xviii.

[17] The sister of Gaius referred to is Iulia Livilla. For her marriage to M. Vinicius, Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 15, 1.

nor is one easily supplied from the context. (2) The particles *καὶ γάρ* here (as often) introduce an explanation.[18] It would be odd, in view of this, if the clause which they head should give as much prominence to Vinicianus as to "those who aspired [*sc.* to the Principate] on grounds of ancestry and marriage connections"—the subject of the statement to be explained. (3) Josephus is here making only his second reference in *A. J.* to M. Vinicius, and this after a considerable interval (from XIX, 102 to XIX, 251). It is quite unlikely in these circumstances that he would identify Vinicius by his *praenomen* Μᾶρκος alone, if he hoped to be understood. Apart from references to the Emperor Gaius, Josephus identifies a person by his *praenomen* alone only once in *A. J.*, XIX (Quintus, 264), and in this case a fuller form of the name (Quintus Pomponius) is given in the preceding sentence (263). (4) A final point leaves no doubt. It is almost inconceivable that Josephus would merely name Vinicianus in line 2, then carefully identify him in lines 6-7 as one of the assassins of Gaius (*ἐκ τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων*). In short, Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον can represent Marcus Vinicius alone (I defer for now the question of termination).

This conclusion necessitates a number of changes in the text. (1) Μινουκιανὸς Μᾶρκον should be emended, for a start, to Βινίκιο- Μᾶρκο-, or Οὐινίκιο- Μᾶρκο-.[19] (2) As for case, it is pretty clear that the accusative is right, with Οὐινίκιον Μᾶρκον as the

[18] J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*[2] (Oxford, 1954), pp. 108-9; cf. pp. 58 ff.

[19] Οὐινίκιος and Οὐινικιανός are to be preferred to Βινίκιος and Βινικιανός. Josephus consistently transliterates an initial V in the Latin by Οὐ rather than B (e. g., *A. J.*, XVIII, 101: Οὐιτέλλιος; XIX, 159, Οὐαλέριος). The first error to occur in the transmission of οὐινίκιο- (to assume that this was the original reading) was probably its assimilation to οὐινικιανό- (the same thing occurred at XIX, 102, the only other reference to Vinicius in *A. J.*). How οὐινικιανός, both as a corruption of οὐινίκιος (as here) and as a correct form, was subsequently changed throughout *A. J.* to μινουκιανός is a matter of conjecture. οὐινικιανός is only one of several Roman names in *A. J.*, XIX that have been corrupted beyond, or almost beyond, recognition (e. g., βαθύβιος, a senator, 91; κλούιτος, an ex-consul [= Cluvius?], 91; βρόγχος or βροῦχος, a tribune of the plebs, 234; πομπήϊος [= Pomponius], 263). It is clear that the form μινουκιανός entered the tradition of *A. J.* early since it appears in the text of the Latin Josephus, a translation of the sixth century, as minucianus.

direct object of *κατεῖχον*. In line 5, δὲ, to which the manuscripts give little support, should be omitted (see the apparatus above). Feldman [20] has recently printed the nominative case. But this is impossible grammatically; and the evidence of the manuscripts is less favorable to his view than his apparatus suggests.[21] (3) Finally, it is necessary to correct the reversal of *praenomen* and *nomen* in *Οὐινίκιον Μᾶρκον*.[22]

The following is the text which I propose:

οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐφιέμενοι γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ	1
οἰκειότησι γάμου· καὶ γὰρ Μᾶρκον Οὐινίκιον καὶ	2
τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν	3
Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι	4
τῶν πραγμάτων,[23] *κατεῖχον οἱ ὕπατοι πρόφασιν ἐκ*	5

[20] *Op. cit.* (see note 2), p. 330.

[21] Although the manuscripts do, with one exception, support the nominative *Μινουκιανὸς* (i. e., *Βινίκιος* or *Οὐινίκιος*), this is not the case with *Μᾶρκος*. Here Feldman's apparatus gives: *μᾶρκον* A: *μᾶρκος* MW: marcum Lat.; in fact the manuscripts read: *μάρκον* AWE: *μάρκοσ* M: marcum Lat.

[22] Cf. *A. J.*, XIV, 213: *Ἰούλιος Γάιος*, the only other instance in Josephus.

How can the reversal of *praenomen* and *nomen* have occurred? Through the assimilation of *οὐινίκιο-* to *οὐινικιανό-* (see n. 19) *οὐινικιανός*, and ultimately a corrupt form of it, *μινουκιανός*, came to represent both Vinicianus and Vinicius in *A. J.*, XIX. It is plausible that some time after this assimilation (whether before or after the corruption into *μινουκιανός* is immaterial) a misguided corrector, unable to make out a subject for *πρόθυμός τε ἦν*, decided that it must have been obscured in transmission and tried to recover it. A change of *μᾶρκον μινουκιανὸν* to the nominative was not the solution since this would leave hanging the accusative phrase *ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν*. It was attractive therefore to take *μᾶρκον μινουκιανὸν* to represent two persons—a not unreasonable notion since there were in *A. J.*, XIX, as the text stood then, two persons called *Μινουκιανός* (*Μινουκιανὸς Ἄννιος*, the conspirator [18], and *Μᾶρκος Μινουκιανός*, the husband of Gaius' sister Iulia Livilla [102]). Since *μᾶρκον* was obviously to be identified with the brother-in-law of the Emperor, *μινουκιανὸν* had to be the conspirator. In view of this it was logical to leave *μᾶρκον* in the accusative in agreement with *ἀξιόλογον ὄντα*, etc. and to change *μινουκιανὸν* to the nominative as subject of *πρόθυμός τε ἦν*. One further step was necessary to "repair" the text: in order to place *μᾶρκον* next to its modifiers, the order of *μᾶρκον* and *μινουκιανὸς* was reversed.

[23] Though at first sight rather clumsy, this parenthetical clause is in

προφάσεως ἀναρτῶντες. Οὐαλέριόν τε[24] Ἀσιατικὸν Οὐινικιανὸς ἐκ τῶν Γαΐου σφαγέων ἀνεῖχε τοιούτων διανοιῶν. 6 7

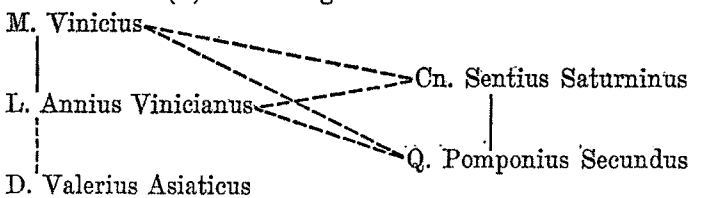
Still, some aspired to the Principate on grounds of ancestry and marriage connections. Marcus Vinicius, who was qualified in his own right by reason of his nobility and was married to Gaius' own sister Julia—besides wanting the supreme power—, was blocked by the consuls, who framed one excuse after another; Valerius Asiaticus was deterred from his imperial ambitions by Vinicianus, one of the assassins of Gaius.

II

As revised, *A. J.*, XIX, 251-2 provides new evidence concerning the political relationships within the opposition (see the diagram below). Since nothing in the revised text indicates

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION [a]

(1) According to Niese's text:



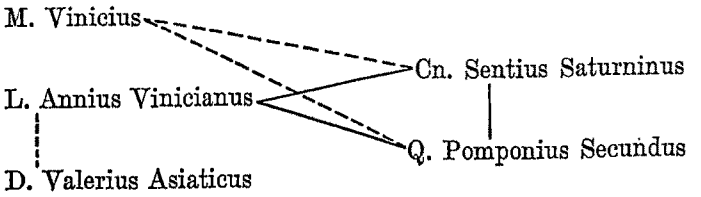
[a] A solid line represents political alliance, a broken line political rivalry.

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accord with the idiom of Josephus, and with Greek usage, and provides little reason for suspecting the text. Josephus is prone to interrupt the progress of a sentence with a parenthetical statement (e. g., *A. J.*, XIX, 90, 110, 153, 195, 223, 234, 301). A single τε (*πρόθυμός τε ἦν*, etc.) is employed regularly in Greek to introduce "the last item of a series" (Denniston, *op. cit.* [see n. 18], p. 500). The series in the passage under consideration has three members, the first two introduced by correlative *καί*'s, the third by τε: (1) *καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα* (2) *καὶ δὴ ἀδελφὴν Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν* (3) *πρόθυμός τε ἦν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων*—(1) he was qualified by birth, (2) he was qualified by marriage, and (3) he wanted the supreme power. (For other examples of this use of τε in Josephus see *A. J.*, XVIII, 1; XIX, 4, 26, 71, 138, 145, 233, 253, 264.) The writer of the Epitome of *A. J.* (E) appears to have interpreted the clause *πρόθυμός τε ἦν*, etc. in just this way. His version runs: *καὶ γὰρ Μινουκιανὸν Μᾶρκον καὶ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν γενναιότητι ἀξιόλογον ὄντα καὶ ἀδελφὴν Γαΐου γεγαμηκότα Ἰουλίαν πρόθυμον ὄντα ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων. . . .*

[24] δὲ A: τε MWE. In view of Josephus' frequent use of a single connective τε there is no strong reason for following A against the testimony of the other manuscripts.

(2) According to the revised text:



that L. Annius Vinicianus supported the candidature of M. Vinicius, it is no longer safe to assume that they were political allies; rather, since Vinicianus' frustration of the candidature of Valerius Asiaticus [25] complemented the similar action of the consuls against Vinicius, Vinicianus should be thought of as working hand in hand with them. Collaboration of Vinicianus with the consuls can be inferred also from their respective relations with Cassius Chaerea. Chaerea brought Vinicianus into the plot (*A. J.*, XIX, 49); he was still acting in concert with him at the hour of the assassination (*ibid.*, 96-8), and during the turbulence which followed looked out for his safety (*ibid.*, 153). On the same day the consul Saturninus proposed honours for Chaerea as προιστὴς τῆς ἐλευθερίας (*ibid.*, 182-4), and that night he and his colleague Pomponius, as Republican chiefs of state, gave Chaerea the watchword "libertas," which he passed on to the soldiers loyal to the cause (*ibid.*, 186-8).

Two conclusions follow. (1) If Vinicianus was not an ally of M. Vinicius (if anything, he was an opponent), the case for his having deserted the cause of *libertas* in order to win the Principate for himself or his nominee breaks down. All that remains to support it is Dio's notice, in his narrative of 42, that

[25] D. Valerius Asiaticus was not associated intimately with the conspiracy against Gaius, despite the accusation made against him by Sosibius six years later: *Praecipuum auctorem Asiaticum interficiendi ⟨C.⟩ Caesaris non extimuisse in contione populi Romani fateri gloriamque facinoris ultro petere* (Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 1, 2). In an assembly held on the day of the assassination Asiaticus had declared, when asked who had done the deed, "I wish I had" (*A. J.*, XIX, 159; cf. Dio-Xiph.-Zon.-*exc. Vat.*, LIX, 30, 2). This incident appears to be the basis of Sosibius' charge. Beyond it and a vague hint in Sen., *Constant.*, XVIII, there is no evidence to connect Asiaticus with the plot. Josephus appears to assume that he was not a member (*A. J.*, XIX, 159, 252).

Vinicianus was ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γαΐου θάνατον προβληθέντων (LX, 15, 1).[26] Now it was clearly not the original intention of the revolutionary faction to make Vinicianus emperor: *Neque coniurati cuiquam imperium destinaverunt.*[27] But they appear to have recognized, some time after the elevation of Claudius by the Praetorians, that if they hoped to defeat him, they might have to appoint an emperor themselves—though they left no doubt that their own candidate would be chosen by election and on the basis of merit.[28] It is reasonable to think that the suggestion of Vinicianus as emperor came from them, after they had been obliged to modify their initial aim of restoring Republican government. The fact that he was apparently cooperating with the consuls in frustrating unacceptable imperial aspirants as late as the collapse of opposition to Claudius on January 25 shows that if he sought the Principate actively himself (for this there is no evidence), he did so without alienating his own faction. There is no sign in the sources of his having been resented as an opportunist;[29] rather he is the object of eulogy.[30]

(2) If, in face of Claudius' armament, Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus, the chief proponents of a restoration, and Vinicianus, the principal senatorial conspirator, persevered to the last in their attempt to subvert the Julio-Claudian Principate and to ensure its replacement by the most acceptable regime possible, it appears that at least the core of the opposition was more united and determined than has generally been recognized. One is prompted by this to believe that their Republicanism, though revised to meet the exigencies of the struggle against Claudius, was an important motive of their treasonous actions,

[26] Cf. Dio, LX, 3, 2.

[27] Suet., *Cal.*, 60; see note 4.

[28] *B.J.*, II, 205, the report of a decree passed by the Senate on January 24 (for the date cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 10, 3-4) at the instance of Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus.

[29] In Josephus' long account of the plot in *A.J.* there is no mention of imperial ambitions on the part of Vinicianus (note especially XIX, 20, where his motives for conspiring against Gaius are discussed).

[30] *A.J.*, XIX, 49: τρέπονταί τε ὡς Μινουκιανόν, αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐπιτηδεύσει ἀρετῆς καὶ τῷ ὁμοζήλῳ τοῦ μεγαλόφρονος συγγενῆ. *Ibid.*, 52: γενναιότατος γὰρ ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν.

and that a restored Republic was viewed seriously at this time as an alternative to the Principate.[31]

The species of Republicanism which motivated the revolutionaries was neither democratic nor new. Taking as their model the heyday of the Roman Republic, they hoped to replace, or at least to control, the Principate with a renascent senatorial oligarchy. In it they themselves would naturally play the leading part, and they were exultant, in the hour of success, at the prospect of having the power in their own hands: *θράσει τε ἤδη χρώμενοι κἀν καταφρονήματι μεγάλῳ ὄντες ὡς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνακειμένων δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων* (*A. J.*, XIX, 161). Their aims are expressed clearly in the Senate's decree of January 24 intended to deter Claudius from taking up the Principate—a measure passed in a session dominated by them and presided over by two of their own number, the consuls Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus:[32] *καταστήσεσθαι γὰρ δι' ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ οὖν πάλαι διῳκεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ κρινεῖν ψήφῳ τὸν ἄξιον τῆς ἡγεμονίας* "they would establish an aristocratic regime, just as[33] had existed of old, or else would determine by vote the person worthy of the Principate."[34] The former alternative—a Republican restoration—may be taken to represent what they most desired the new government to be, the latter—it is not clear whether an elective Principate or merely an elected Princeps is intended—, the least they were prepared to accept. Their willingness to settle for a Principate subordinated to senatorial authority underlines the fact that

[31] See Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 1: *Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit* [*sc.* Claudius] *quam id biduum, quo de mutando rei p. statu haesitatum erat, memoriae eximere*; Dio, LX, 3, 5: *τοῖς γε μὴν ἄλλοις οἳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκφανῶς ἐσπούδασαν.* Cf. Suet., *Cal.*, 60: *et senatus in asserenda libertate adeo consensit; Claud.*, 10, 3: *Nam consules cum senatu et cohortibus urbanis forum Capitoliumque occupaverant asserturi communem libertatem.*

[32] *B. J.*, II, 205; cf. *A. J.*, XIX, 161, 166-87. Even on January 25 their influence sufficed to prevent the Senate's yielding to the clamor of the *cohortes urbanae* for the immediate appointment of a Princeps (*ibid.*, 249-52; 255).

[33] On the force of *ὥσπερ οὖν* see Denniston, *op. cit.* (see n. 18), p. 421.

[34] Cf. Dio-Xiph., LX, 1, 4: tribunes of the plebs sent by the consuls ordered Claudius to renounce the throne and "to acknowledge the government of the people, the Senate, and the laws" (*ἐπί τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις γενέσθαι*).

their Republicanism was as much social as political—the important thing was that, whatever the form of the constitution, the nobility should recover its predominance. The place of class interests in the revolutionary program is evident in the oration of the consul Saturninus, exhorting the Senate to recover its former freedom (*ibid.*, 167-84).[35] One of its major themes is the oppression and degradation experienced by the nobility under the Julio-Claudian emperors, who are censured for "doing their utmost to leave behind them a state desolated of its noble element, in the belief that their own safety was enhanced if they allied themselves with ignoble men (κίβδηλοι ἄνδρες), and not merely curbed somewhat the pride of men acknowledged to be foremost in virtue but decreed their utter extinction" (*ibid.*, 174).

III

The above findings concerning the events of January 24-25, 41, throw light on the *bellum civile* of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (*cos.*, 32), who sought to overthrow the Emperor Claudius in the next year. This enterprise, which was probably more important, and more crucial in the history of the Principate, than the attention given it by scholars would seem to indicate,[36] has generally been studied in isolation (when studied at all), without much regard for the possible connections between it and the attempted revolution of 41. A number of signs, now I hope more easily read, suggest that the *bellum civile* was to a significant degree a continuation or revival of the earlier movement.

(1) It is apparent from Claudius' far-reaching efforts, at the start of his reign, to conciliate the nobility that despite the removal of Gaius opposition to the regime persisted within this class.[37] He granted amnesty to those who had sought openly the

[35] Josephus' circumstantial report of the sequel leaves little room for doubt that such a speech was made: when Saturninus ended, Trebellius Maximus leapt up, pulled off the former's ring, and its stone, which was engraved with the image of Gaius, was smashed (*A.J.*, XIX, 185).

[36] Cf. Syme, *op. cit.* (see note 13), p. 415: "The episode, briefly reported and abortive, is of vital importance for the understanding of imperial history."

[37] His reluctance to face the Senate and his precautions against assassination show the same (Dio, LX, 3, 2-4; Suet., *Claud.*, 35).

restoration of Republican government or had been considered as possible successors to Gaius,[38] even retaining in office the consuls Saturninus and Pomponius.[39] He ordered the burning of documents preserved in Gaius' palace for use as the basis of informations against senators.[40] His cancellation of Gaius' acts, and of the *lex maiestatis*,[41] the recall of exiles, the freeing of prisoners, and the restoration of confiscated property [42] were intended, it may be assumed, to appease the senatorial class primarily.[43] In his relations with the Senate and magistrates Claudius was modest and deferential.[44] He gave assurances that he would choose as senators only persons whose great-great-grandfathers had been Roman citizens—a concession, it appears, to the discontent over Gaius' preferment of ignoble men.[45] At the same time Claudius sought to attach the nobility more closely to himself through the arrangement of marriage connections with distinguished houses.[46] Not even these measures, however, sound as they were, reduced unrest to a safe level. Claudius was treading on *ignis suppositos cineri doloso*. In the next year (42) he was persuaded, through the machinations of Messalina and Narcissus, to condemn C. Appius Iunius Silanus (*cos.*, 28) to death, allegedly as a conspirator. From

[38] Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 1; Dio, LX, 3, 5.

[39] They were still in office on June 25, 41 (*Fasti feriarum Latinarum* in *Inscr. Ital.*, XIII, 1, pp. 150-1). Although no *suffecti* are known who superseded them, it is unlikely that Claudius kept them in office beyond June 30, by which time his clemency would have been well enough advertised.

[40] Dio, LX, 4, 5; cf. LIX, 4, 3.

[41] Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 3; Dio, LX, 3, 6; 4, 1.

[42] Dio, LX, 4, 1-2; 6, 3.

[43] Relations between Gaius and the equestrian order had been good (J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (*Caligula*) [Oxford, 1934], pp. 156-7).

[44] Especially Suet., *Claud.*, 12, 1-2; Dio, LX, 6, 1; 11, 6-7; 12, 3.

[45] Suet., *Claud.*, 24, 1; cf. *A. J.*, XIX, 174.

[46] In 41, Antonia, Claudius' daughter by Aelia Paetina, was married to Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and Octavia, his daughter by Messalina, was betrothed to L. Iunius Silanus (Suet., *Claud.*, 27, 2; Dio, LX, 5, 7; Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 3, 2). The fact that Octavia was still a very small child (*P. I. R.*^{2}, II, p. 266, no. 1110) suggests that her betrothal was dictated by political considerations. Cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), p. 385.

the accounts in Suetonius and Dio it appears that the trial was held and judgment passed *intra cubiculum, crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data.*[47] Whether or not Claudius was chiefly to blame for this arbitrary form of justice, it resulted in a wave of disillusionment about his rule: οὐκέτι χρηστὴν ἐλπίδα ⟨οἱ⟩ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ Κλαυδίου ἔσχον (Dio, LX, 15, 1). A conspiracy was presently on foot in which L. Annius Vinicianus took the initiative, enlisting L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus to lead a military revolt against Claudius. As *legatus* of Dalmatia Scribonianus commanded two legions, which, because of their relative nearness to Rome, were in a position to anticipate countermovements by loyal armies in other provinces. Once he consented to assume the leadership, both senators and equestrians joined the plot in number, and the so-called *bellum civile* ensued.[48]

(2) As it had been in 41, the focus of revolutionary activity was again the senatorial aristocracy. There were among the conspirators four men of consular rank,[49] more than are known to have been implicated in any other plot against a Julio-Claudian emperor, including those of Sejanus in 31 and Calpurnius Piso in 65. Of the four, two—Vinicianus and Q. Pomponius Secun-

[47] Dio, LX, 14, 2-15, 1; Suet., *Claud.*, 29, 1, which contains the quotation; 37, 2.

[48] Dio, LX, 15, 1-3. The two legions were the seventh and eleventh (see note 52). On their strategic location, Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 5, 3.

[49] Besides Vinicianus and Scribonianus they were A. Caecina Paetus, *cos.*, 37 (Plin., *Ep.*, III, 16) and Q. Pomponius Secundus, *cos.*, 41. The question of Pomponius' complicity requires some discussion. Under 58, Tacitus gives the following report of allegations made against P. Suillius Rufus by prosecution witnesses: *Ii acerbitate accusationis Q. Pomponium ad necessitatem belli civilis detrusum, Iuliam Drusi filiam Sabinamque Poppaeam ad mortem actas et Valerium Asiaticum, Lusium Saturninum, Cornelium Lupum circumventos, iam equitum Romanorum agmina damnata omnemque Claudii saevitiam Suillio obiectabant* (*Ann.*, XIII, 43, 2). It is clear from this sentence and those following it (XIII, 43, 3-4) that the *bellum civile* into which Pomponius was pushed belongs under Claudius. There is in his reign no known event that could be described as *bellum civile* except the rising of Scribonianus. Also this is the single "bellum civile" mentioned in Suetonius' list of the conspiracies against Claudius (*Claud.*, 13). Presumably, then, Pomponius was involved in it and on this account suffered a punishment that included *damnatio memoriae* (*Fasti feriarum Latinarum* in *Inscr. Ital.*, XIII, 1, pp. 150-1).

dus—had played important parts in the abortive restoration of the Republic the year before.[50]

(3) The idea of a restoration was still influential. Although Camillus Scribonianus, in opening the *bellum civile,* appears to have assumed the position of emperor (*novum imperatorem,* Suet., *Claud.,* 13, 2), he nonetheless held out unequivocally to his troops the prospect of a return to the Republic and "old-time *libertas*"—*τοῦ Καμίλλου τό τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ὄνομα προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου* (Dio, LX, 15, 3). Although one may suspect the sincerity of his promises, there can be little doubt that Scribonianus made them or that he did so with a purpose. At the start of the rebellion practical considerations would dictate what he said as much as political conviction. His foremost thought would be to attract support for his own cause and to induce the adherents of Claudius to defect. If he thought he could do this best by making Republican pronouncements, it was probably in the knowledge that there were important elements of Republican temper to whom his professed policy would appeal. Although on the occasion recounted by Dio the immediate audience of Scribonianus was composed of soldiers, his message may have been intended in the final analysis for another audience—the ruling class, members of which appear to have been present or at hand at the time: for once Vinicianus had persuaded Scribonianus to rebel, there was an exodus of implicated senators and equestrians from Rome, presumably on their way to Dalmatia (*ibid.*), and it was apparently in Dalmatia that the consular conspirator A. Caecina Paetus was later apprehended.[51]

[50] For Pomponius' advocacy of a restoration, *A. J.*, XIX, 263; for his opposition to Claudius' elevation, *B. J.*, II, 205.

[51] Plin., *Ep.*, III, 16, 7: *Scribonianus arma in Illyrico contra Claudium moverat; fuerat Paetus in partibus, et occiso Scriboniano Romam trahebatur.* Paetus was taken to Rome in an *ingens navigium* (*ibid.*, III, 16, 9), circumstances which fit a voyage through the Adriatic. The locale of the revolt can be estimated from the fact that Scribonianus was killed by his own mutinous soldiers after fleeing to the island of Issa, which lies off the coast of Dalmatia about two hundred miles east of Rome (Dio, LX, 15, 3, who says, however, that he committed suicide; Tac., *Hist.*, II, 75; Plin., *Ep.*, III, 16, 7). See A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford, 1966), p. 249; Syme, *op. cit.* (see note 13), p. 415.

That a Republican restoration was viewed as a distinct possibility at this time is shown by the seriousness with which the troops initially supporting Scribonianus in his rebellion took his Republican manifesto. Fearing that ὁ δῆμος and ἡ ἀρχαία ἐλευθερία would mean a return to the civil strife of Republican times, they repented their disloyalty towards Claudius and overthrew Scribonianus after a reign of only four days.[52] Their feelings were essentially the same that had prompted the Praetorian Guard to declare for Claudius and the Principate rather than for the Senate and the Republic after the assassination of Gaius.[53]

(4) With the aid of numismatic evidence it is possible to discern, on the ideological level, successive stages in the conflict between *principatus* and *libertas* during 41 and 42. Beginning in 41 the *aes* mint at Rome issued asses bearing on their obverse the image and titulature of Claudius, on their reverse Libertas standing, holding a liberty-cap (*pileus*) in her right hand, and the legend LIBERTAS AVGVSTA S C.[54] It is almost certain

[52] Dio, LX, 15, 3; Suet., *Claud.*, 13, 2. For their timely change of heart the legions of Scribonianus—the seventh and eleventh—were rewarded with the title "Claudia pia fidelis" (Dio, LX, 15, 4; LV, 23, 3-4; cf. *I. L. S.*, 1419, 1026). Suetonius reports that the troops abandoned Scribonianus when they interpreted the uncanny behavior of the military standards as a sign that heaven disapproved of their betraying Claudius (*Claud.*, 13, 2): *Verum intra quintum diem oppressus est legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt.* Suetonius' superstitiousness is well known from a letter of Pliny the Younger (*Ep.*, I, 18), his interest in signs and omens, from his own writings. These personal traits probably account for his unusual explanation of the soldiers' actions and his omission of the factors mentioned by Dio.

[53] *A. J.*, XIX, 224: *ἀναλογισμός τε αὐτοὺς εἰσῄει τῆς τε πλεονεξίας τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ δυνασ τευόντων καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ τῆς πρὶν ἀρχῆς ἡμάρτητο αὐτῇ.*

[54] H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, I (London, 1923)—hereafter cited as *B. M.*—, p. 185, nos. 145-6; p. 192, nos. 202-5. It is natural and usual to assume that nos. 145-6, which have on their obverse TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP, antedate January 6-12, 42, when Claudius was named *pater patriae* (*C. I. L.*, VI, 2032 in conjunction with *I. L. S.*, 201; cf. Dio, LX, 3, 2), and that nos. 202-5, which have the same obverse legend with the addition of P P, follow this date. C. M. Kraay has argued that P P

that this legend, unprecedented in Roman imperial coinage, was a response to the attempted restoration of January 24, 41. Through it Claudius appropriated to the Principate the revolutionary watchword *libertas* and gave his answer to the neo-Republicans: that *libertas*, far from being incompatible with *principatus*, could be enjoyed as fully under a Princeps as under the free state. Devised as a form of counter-propaganda, the concept *libertas Augusta* appears in its turn to have elicited from the revolutionaries behind the *bellum civile* of 42 a more explicit formulation of their position: in the declaration with which Scribonianus inaugurated his reign he epitomized his program not merely as ἐλευθερία (which Claudius' propaganda had rendered ambiguous) but as ἡ ἀρχαία ἐλευθερία, a pointed antithesis of *libertas Augusta*.[55]

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did not appear on Claudian *aes* as early as 42 since "by far the larger part of the extant *aes* lacks P P" (Review of *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow*, I: *Augustus to Nerva*, by Anne S. Robertson, *J. R. S.*, LIII [1963], p. 177). He prefers to assign the *aes* without P P to the period 41-49 and that with P P to the period from 50, when P P first appears on gold and silver coinage. But in order to maintain this thesis, he is obliged to make a somewhat arbitrary exception of dated *quadrantes*, of which those lacking P P (*B. M.*, p. 189, nos. 174-80) belong without question in 41, those with P P (*B. M.*, p. 190, nos. 181-4) in 42 (for a *quadrans* of 43 with P P see *B. M.*, p. 190 n.), and thus support the usual manner of dating. One hesitates, therefore, to rule out the possibility that P P might have been added, from 42 on, to issues in other denominations of *aes* as well. For example, *sestertii* honoring Claudius' father Drusus (*B. M.*, pp. 190-3, nos. 187-91 and 208-11a) and a *dupondius* honoring his mother Antonia (*B. M.*, p. 193, no. 213), both bearing P P, are much less plausibly associated with the period from 50 on, to which Kraay would assign them, than with the year 42 or 43, in view of the signal honors conferred on his parents by Claudius at the start of his reign (Suet., *Claud.*, 11, 2-3; Dio, LX, 5, 1-3).

[55] Note the similar distinction, in Tac., *Ann.*, I, 7, 3, between the true Republic, *vetus res publica*, and the imperial version of it.

HORACE, *ODES*, II, 3.

In the works of Horace, it is said, there are found the "mature, ironical, sensual, and irreligious opinions of a middle-aged Roman, one whose chief counsel to youth was to drink and make love to the best of its ability, as these were activities unsuitable to a middle age given over to worldly-wise meditation and good talk. Afterwards there remained only an equal oblivion for the virtuous and the wicked in the unconsulted tomb."[1] *Aequam memento* might seem to epitomise this Horatian outlook on life, and the poem's blend of euphonic maxims and rural vignettes (together with traditionally improving thoughts on death) has made it one of the more popular odes.[2] Such odes, however, are normally taken for granted and rarely subjected to analysis or examination. *Aequam memento* is no exception,[3] yet even the poem's sequence of thought, a fundamental aspect, is difficult to comprehend.

The ode, as it stands, divides into two unequal parts of 16 and 12 lines respectively: lines 1-16 deal with *ἀταραξία* and *carpe diem,* lines 17-28 with death (the transition coming with the repeated *cedes* at 17 ff., just as the transition at *Carm.*, II, 14 comes at 13 ff., also with the repeated *frustra*).[4] However, the

[1] Cyril Connolly, Preface to *The Rock Pool* (1935).

[2] E. g. for A. W. Verrall, *Studies in Horace* (London, 1884), p. 137, "One of those seething commonplaces whose triteness Horace forces us to forget by sheer beauty of style."

[3] Such remarks as "Il serait difficile d'être plus heureux dans l'expression, plus claire dans la pensée, plus riche en suggestions, plus impeccable dans l'harmonie du rhythme" are not even "appréciation générale" let alone proper criticism (P. Colmant, S. J., "Horace, *Odes* II, 3," *L. E. C.*, XXIV [1956], p. 378). But there is worse to follow: "cette poésie, si belle soit-elle, a quelque chose qui l'assombrit; c'est l'incurable egoïsme du pauvre païen Horace."

[4] *Aequam memento* thus "falls into the major Horatian category of odes wherein meaning and feeling undergo an abrupt change" (N. E. Collinge, "Form and Content in Horatian Lyric," *C. P.*, L [1955], p. 164). It may be more exact to see a threefold structure: lines 1-8 *ἀταραξία*, 9-16 *carpe diem*, 17-28 death. The structural ambiguity is characteristically Horatian. Cf. also W. Wili on the fourth stanza,

theme of death has been initiated in line 4 with *moriture,* and, though abandoned immediately, is resumed exactly half-way through the poem at line 15 (*dum res et aetas . . .* , which is thus ideally connected to the second part of the ode, though syntactically, of course, to the first part). Such duality of structure is a typically Horatian technique. The first part of the ode is remarkable for its slowness of progress:[5] for just as 15 f. *dum res et aetas* recall 4 *moriture,* so also 5 *maestus omni tempore* recalls 1 *rebus in arduis*; 6 *te per dies festos bearis* recalls 2-4 *in bonis*[6] and *laetitia*; 13 f. *vina, unguenta* and *flores rosae* recall 9 ff. *pinus, populus* and *lympha.* Horace continually repeats ideas or themes,[7] and by means of such retrospection very little actual progress of thought is made in the first part of the ode. This is a quite common feature in the odes of Horace.[8]

In the second part of the poem (17-28), however, Horace repeats words and thus obtains an effect of speed or urgency: *cedes . . . cedes,*[9] *divitiis . . . dives, omnes . . . omnium.* Even *serius ocius,* though more a homoeoteleuton than a strict word-

"Vorher feiern drei Strophen den goldenen Weg der Mitte, nachher weisen drei Strophen auf alles Vergängliches und den Tod. Wahrhaft vom goldenen Mass und Tod umgeben ist hier das festliche Trinken" (*Horaz* [Basel, 1949], p. 223).

[5] The following few remarks derive from N. E. Collinge, *The Structure of Horace's Odes* (O. U. P., 1961 [hereafter Collinge]), p. 85.

[6] But for the text note Bentley's *ac bonis* and Housman's *ut bonis* (*C. R.*, IV [1890], p. 341).

[7] Contrast the manner in which each of the first three lines ends with an adjective (*in arduis, in bonis, temperatam*), so that a minor image, complementary to the message of the stanza as a whole, is conjured up. Compare *Carm.*, I, 22, 5-8 "sive per Syrtes iter *aestuosas* / sive facturus per *inhospitalem* / Caucasum vel quae loca *fabulosus* / lambit Hydaspes" (cf. J. Marouzeau, *Emerita,* IV [1936], p. 4).

[8] Collinge, p. 85, n. 2.

[9] Contrast how the succession of three nouns in the previous stanza (*huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis flores*) almost shows Horace ticking these items off on a list before the country symposium starts. Not without considerable irony he balances these three by a further three (*res et aetas et sororum fila trium*), all incalculable elements. [As the commentators remark, *res* here could mean either 'fortune = wealth' (so Wickham, whose only support is perhaps the following *coemptis saltibus*) or 'circumstances' (so Orelli, Kiessling-Heinze, Plessis, Page, who justly remarks, "the suggestion that he may become poor some day is wholly out of place here").]

repetition, helps this effect, which is also maintained by energetic phraseology such as *coemptis saltibus* and *exstructis in altum*. The metre is used here by Horace along these lines, to imply the inevitability of death: [10]

sors exitur(a) et nos in aetern(um)
exsili(um) impositura cumbae.

But the long *o, er,* and *ur* sounds could perhaps indicate a slowing down in the pace of the ode at its conclusion, while the short *i* sounds recall the lots jumping in the *urna*.[11] Horace here seems to achieve a duality of both speed and tone.

Much of the first part of the ode owes its thought to popular Epicureanism,[12] and the first stanza itself is ultimately derived from the Epicurean tenet of *ἀταραξία*,[13] a favourite of Horace.[14] The doctrine would be especially applicable to Dellius, for he was a person notoriously given to extremes.[15] It is, however, clear

[10] Hypermetre occurs only once elsewhere in Horace's Alcaics, at *Carm.*, III, 29, 35, also for special effect.

[11] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and his Lyric Poetry*[2] (Cambridge, 1951 [hereafter Wilkinson]), p. 37, "The lots are shaken in the urn, and the round monosyllable *sors* is held in suspense, to fall out at the beginning of the next line."

[12] Too much must not be made of the paradox that Horace spends the second part of the ode (cf. also line 4) in discussing death in sinister tones which all true Epicureans would scorn (e. g. P. Merlan, *J. H. I.*, X [1949], p. 448, "As death does not concern us at all, the certitude of our impending death can have no significance on our way of life—not to the slightest extent. This is just the opposite of Horace's point of view"), for Horace should properly be described as eclectic (cf. O. Immisch, "Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst," *Philol.*, Suppl. XXIV, 3 [1932], pp. 26 ff.; W. S. Maguinness, *Hermathena,* LII [1938], pp. 27-46). Nor does it seem possible to agree with K. Quinn, *Latin Explorations* (London, 1963), p. 108, n. 1, when he says that what is perhaps truly Epicurean about this ode is less its philosophy than the way in which it allows Horace "to play the serene spectator of life." Horace appears not as spectator but preceptor.

[13] Lambinus and Orelli quote Lucr., V, 1117 ff., *quod si quis vera vitam ratione gubernet, / divitiae grandes homini sunt vivere parce / aequo animo*; K(iessling)-H(einze) quote Epic., fr. 488 Us. The doctrine of the mean was also a feature of Peripatetic philosophy.

[14] E. g. *Carm.*, III, 29, 32 f. "quod adest *memento* / componere *aequus*," *Epist.*, I, 18, 112 "*aequum* mi *animum* ipse parabo."

[15] Cf. Sen., *Suas.*, 1, 7 *desultorem bellorum civilium . . . quia ab*

that in the first stanza Horace is hardly concerned with *res arduae*, much rather with *res bonae*; and indeed *insolens laetitia* seems more to be his theme.[16] This much is obvious from the relative amount of detail given by Horace to the depiction of *bona* and *mala*: *arduis* itself is a "euphemistischer Gegensatz zu *bonis*,"[17] and Horace is careful to omit all detail in the first clause but to insert *ab insolenti temperatam laetitia* in the second; his only reason for so doing is because it is *insolens laetitia* that is applicable to Dellius. The stanza concludes with the words *morituree Delli*, which are doubly ironical: first, because they imply inevitability—Dellius is in no way *aequus*, but the one thing he can be relied upon to do is to die; secondly, Dellius had become notorious during the Civil Wars for his extravagant attempts at saving his skin[18]—and the one epithet which Horace in the whole ode addresses to him is *morituree*. This vocative participle has perhaps a further extension of meaning. Towards the end of the fourth Georgic Virgil tells the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice (457 ff.):

Dolabella ad Cassium . . . a Cassio deinde transit ad Antonium, novissime ab Antonio transfugit ad Caesarem. Collinge, pp. 138 f., has some apposite observations on the character of Dellius, and cf. V. Cucheval, *Hist. de l'éloquence romaine* (Paris, 1893), I, p. 177. This ode is not a failure in so far as it may be regarded as a *Gelegenheitsgedicht* (often perhaps a dubious term with reference to Horace, although cf. L. E. Lord, *C.J.*, XXXI [1935], p. 152, "Horace as an occasional poet is almost supreme"; E. Fraenkel, *Horace* [Oxford, 1957], pp. 313 f. [hereafter Fraenkel]), with Horace supposedly supplying insufficient information on Dellius within the poem itself. For the Odes of Horace, usually having an addressee, were written exclusively for a literary coterie of great refinement whose members were aware of any necessary background.

[16] Collinge, p. 72, n. 1, comes to the same conclusion, "In the opening of ii. 3, two extremes are mentioned, but only *insolens laetitia* is really in point." Both Peerlkamp and Doering in their editions, however, take the opposite view. They are followed by H. Düntzer who, in his edition of 1849, provides the following interpretation: "vide, quam scite tristitiam, qua Dellius laborat, vix attingat (v. 5), sed disertius versetur in laeto vitae usu (v. 6-12)." Düntzer's may be the only possible explanation for the opinion of Peerlkamp and Doering, but its subtlety would seem to be too extreme for the ode as a whole.

[17] K-H. The word is also ironical; for if Dellius' trouble is exclusively *insolens laetitia*, Horace appropriately tones down the opposite of *res bonae* to make it slightly less inapplicable.

[18] Cf. Sen., *Suas.*, 1, 7, *salutem sibi pactus est.*

illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,
immanem ante pedes hydrum *moritura puella*
servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

moritura puella is Virgil's own personal and ominous observation on what is about to happen,[19] and this use of the participle is common in Virgil, though not always constituting his own subjective comment.[20] It is not improbable that Horace had implications similar to those in Virgil's phrase, and others like it, in mind when he wrote *morituro Delli*; at least, the existence of this device may be said to add a new and sinister dimension to Horace's words.[21]

It is upon *morituro*, as the commentators remark, that the *seu . . . seu* clauses of the second stanza depend; but the tenses of the verbs (*vixeris, te . . . bearis*) indicate that the force of the whole sentence falls upon *morituro* and not the *seu . . . seu* clauses themselves.[22] Nevertheless, in this stanza also it is implied how Dellius is expected to spend his life:[23] *maestus* is a weak abstract expression[24] in comparison with the detail (e. g.

[19] On this phrase A. S. Pease (at *Aen.*, IV, 415) comments, "*moritura* reveals the reflection of the poet rather than the consciousness of Eurydice herself."

[20] E. g. *Aen.*, II, 408, 511; IV, 308, 519, 604; XII 55, 602.

[21] Horace has the comparable *animo . . . morituro* at *Carm.*, I, 28, 6, but with less effect since the person in question is already dead. Cf. also IV, 7, 9 f. *interitura aestas*, also less effective, because the example is non-personal. Nor is either instance in the vocative, which really sets off *morituro Delli*.

[22] If the verbs had been future tense Horace would have been saying this: "You will die whether you live sadly now or happily (implying, therefore, you may as well live happily)." But the verbs are future perfect, and Horace means this: "Whether you have lived sadly or joyfully, you will die." It is death, one of his other themes, that he wants to stress.

[23] Velleius Paterculus shrewdly observes that Dellius was consistent in his inconsistency (II, 84, 2): *exempli sui tenax*.

[24] Purely psychological indications or abstract nouns are rare in the Odes (cf., e. g., *Carm.*, I, 7, 18 *tristitiam vitaeque labores*), but "cette parsimonie n'a rien qui étonne: le monde d'Horace est celui des images" (H. Bardon, "Carpe diem," *R. E. A.*, XLVI [1944], p. 348). It is true that *ab insolenti laetitia* is also an abstract phrase and hence to a certain degree balances *maestus*; but it is in itself forceful and contrasts with the bareness of lines 1-2. It gains its life from its context, whereas *maestus* does not.

reclinatum, a physical description indicating the notion of ease) of the vivid rural scene which follows, and the generalised *omni tempore* [25] is purposely dull alongside the more specific temporal element of the succeeding clause, *per dies festos*. The second stanza too shows that it is not *res arduae* that is Dellius' trouble.

It was one of the counsels of Epicurus that the wise man will love the country,[26] and in the third and fourth stanzas Horace proceeds to issue, at first indirectly by the questions *quo?* and *quid?* (9-12), and then almost imperatively by *ferre iube* (13-16), an invitation to come out into the countryside and enjoy life. It is not too fanciful to see in the phrase *in remoto gramine* a reference to the Epicurean belief of λάθε βιώσας,[27] elsewhere a favourite of Horace; [28] but this is not to say that Horace was not a true lover of the Italian country [29] and did not regard it as a most desirable retreat.[30] That such an invitation to come into the country and enjoy life is being given may be confirmed by the *dum*-clause (15 f.), reminiscent of the *dum licet* at *Carm.*,

[25] The ablative of the duration of time is unusual, though there are examples in Varro, Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Velleius, and Tacitus (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, II, 1, 360, Anm. 12; E. Löfstedt, *Philologische Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, pp. 51 ff.): Cat., 109, 5 is the earliest example in verse. E. C. Woodcock, *A New Latin Syntax*, p. 38, observes that generally the verb " is in a tense of completed action, so that the ablative may denote the limits within which the action was completed." This would support the view proposed above, note 22. It is to be noted, however, that W. Medley, *Interpretations of Horace*, p. 58, translates the phrase as " Life in all its crises."

[26] It is of course also a Stoic text that one should live in harmony with nature, as at *Epist.*, I, 10, 12 ff. *vivere naturae si convenienter oportet / ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum, / novistine locum potiorem rure beato?* Such ideas form a general theme for diatribe, cf. A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), pp. 120 f., 261.

[27] " Fern vom Lärm der Welt und dem Gedräng der Menschen " (K-H, quoting *Serm.*, II, 6, 16 *ubi me in montes . . . ex urbe removi*; 1, 71 *ubi se a volgo . . . in secreta remorant*).

[28] E. g. at *Epist.*, I, 18, 103 *secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.*

[29] *Epist.*, I, 14, 7 ff. *tamen istuc mens animusque / fert et avet spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra. / rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.*

[30] *Ibid.*, I, 16, 15 f. *hae* latebrae *dulces etiam, si credis, amoenae / incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.*

II, 11, 16; IV, 12, 26. This *dum*-clause re-introduces the theme of death, with which the final three stanzas are wholly concerned.

There are, then, in this poem three themes: ἀταραξία in *insolens laetitia, carpe diem,* and death. All commonplaces of Horace. But a moment's consideration will reveal that the invitation to *carpe diem,* which forms the kernel of the ode (9-16), is extremely paradoxical: for Horace has made it plain in lines 2-4 *not* that Dellius' trouble is having fits of depression (in which case Horace's invitation would be most timely), but that he in fact enjoys himself too much. Horace appears to be recommending to Dellius a way of life quite inconsistent with his present needs.

Also in the second book of Odes there are two poems which together deal with these three themes. They are the consecutive poems 10 *Rectius vives, Licini* and 11 *Quid bellicosus Cantaber,* and it will be instructive to digress and observe the sequence of their thought. In the former ode the thought proceeds as follows:[31] 1-4 two themes are stated, the golden mean is best, bad times are transitory; 5-12 the advantages of *aurea mediocritas* (with the emphasis on prominence and excess); 13-20 *non, si male nunc, et olim sic erit*; 21-4 restatement of both themes. Murena has been going through troubled times (2 f. *dum procellas cautus horrescis*), and has been adopting extreme behaviour (1 ff. *neque altum semper urgendo neque . . . nimium premendo litus iniquum*):[32] Horace therefore, quite logically, states that the *res malae* will soon pass away, but meanwhile it is much better to observe an *aurea mediocritas.* In the latter ode Horace says: 1-12 cease worrying, for life is short; 13-24 why not come out into the country and enjoy life? Hirpinus has been worrying about the current political situation abroad (11 f. *quid aeternis minorem consiliis animum fatigas?*), but Horace reminds him that life is short (9 f. *non semper idem floribus est honor vernis*):[33] the advice proposed by the poet is again relevant (17 f.

[31] See Collinge, pp. 70 ff.

[32] Murena was noted for his intemperate character (Dio, LIV, 3, 4).

[33] This hints at the perpetual Horatian theme of death; and the actual invitation *carpe diem* includes the inevitable *dum licet.* Dellius' ode has the comparable *dum res et aetas . . . ,* and the final three stanzas, thus introduced, present no problem.

dissipat Euius curas edaces). In both odes the addressee is suffering from some kind of depression, and in the one case Horace recommends *aurea mediocritas*,[34] in the other *carpe diem*. It would be difficult enough for Horace to recommend both remedies for the trouble in the same poem, but it would by no means be illogical. When it is a case of someone suffering, not from *res malae*, but from *insolens laetitia*, then the advice of *aurea mediocritas* is still apposite; the admonition to *carpe diem*, however, is wholly illogical, and the combination of *aurea mediocritas* and *carpe diem* is in this context unwarrantable. Yet this is what happens in the ode to Dellius: the lines advocating *carpe diem* (9-16) are completely paradoxical with what has gone before.

There would appear to be at least three not necessarily exclusive explanations for this inconsequence in *Aequam memento*.[35] The first is that Horace has let the poem run away with him and at the expense of his famous *curiosa felicitas* has inserted two irrelevant stanzas into the middle of the ode to the detriment of the rest of its meaning.[36] Horace may not have felt able to omit what is one of his favourite themes, and indeed the rest of the poem too seems simply to be a collection of Horatian clichés.[37] If this is so, the conclusion cannot be avoided

[34] On which cf. W. Kroll, *Wien. Stud.*, XXXVII (1915), p. 225.

[35] It would seem impossible that the offending stanzas are interpolations; Peerlkamp, who might otherwise have been the likeliest to suggest this approach, found no fault with the poem, because he misinterpreted the first stanza (see above, note 16). Nor can the stanzas be transposed to improve the sense of the whole.

[36] Stanza 3 at least would be less inapposite if Caldenbach's *qua* for *quo* is read at line 9, and Haupt's *ramisque et* for *ramis? quid* at line 11, with a comma instead of a question mark at line 12 (*Opuscula*, I, p. 92, following Bentley's *ramosque et*).

[37] A selection of parallel words, phrases and ideas will suffice: 1-2 *aequam mentem*, cf., e. g., *Serm.*, I, 5, 8; II, 3, 16 *animo aequo*; *Epist.*, I, 11, 30 *animus si te non deficit aequus*; 6-7 *in remoto gramine reclinatum*, cf. *Epod.*, 2, 23 f. *libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, modo in tenaci gramine* [these two later imitated by Martial, IX, 90, 1]; *Carm.*, II, 11, 4 *iacentes sic temere*; 9 *pinus ingens*, cf. *Carm.*, II, 10, 9 f. *ingens pinus*; 11, 13 f. (*sub alta*) . . . *vel hac pinu; albaque populus*, cf. *Epod.*, 2, 10 *altas . . . populos*; 10 *umbram*, cf. *Carm.*, I, 17, 22 *sub umbra*; 12 *lympha fugax trepidare*, cf. *Epod.*, 2, 27 *fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus*; 16, 48 *levis crepante lympha desilit*

that the ode is unsuccessful. The second explanation depends upon the presence of *insolenti* in line 3. It is just possible that Horace is telling Dellius to keep equable in his *insolens laetitia* but that since he is to die (*moriture*), he must still enjoy life, though in moderation. But this requires a great deal of emphasis to be placed upon *insolenti*, which must be retained in the memory as far as line 16; it also requires the supplement of "in moderation" throughout lines 9-16, for *temperatam* in line 3 seems to restrict its influence to the first stanza alone. This explanation too implies that Horace has not been successful in the presentation of his sequence of thought.

The third explanation is that Horace is intentionally employing a bitter paradox. Such paradox may be exemplified by

pede; *Carm.*, II, 11, 20 *praetereunte lympha* (11, 4 *nec trepides in usum*); *Epist.*, I, 10, 21 *quae (aqua) per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum*; 13-14 *breves flores*, cf. *Carm.*, I, 36, 16 *breve lilium*; 14 *flores rosae*, cf. *Carm.*, III, 15, 15 *flos purpureus rosae*; 29, 3 *cum flore . . . rosarum*; IV, 10, 4 *flore . . . rosae*; 15-16 *dum res et aetas . . .*, cf. *Carm.*, II, 11, 16; IV, 12, 26 *dum licet*; *Epod.*, 13, 3 ff. *rapiamus, amici, occasionem de die, dumque virent genua et decet; Carm.*, I, 9, 17 f. *donec virenti canities abest morosa*; 18 *flavus Tiberis*, cf. *Carm.*, I, 2, 13; 8, 8 *flavum Tiberim*; 26 *urna*, cf. *Carm.*, III, 1, 16 *omne capax movet urna nomen*. The comparative frequency in this list of *Epod.*, 2 (whose theme is, albeit ironically, the delights of country life) and *Carm.*, II, 10 and 11 (whose themes are, it has been seen, similar to II, 3) perhaps indicates the platitudinous nature of this poem. The two stanzas themselves much recall Lucr., II, 29-33 (= V, 1392-6) but this may only reinforce their triteness, the *vita rustica* being a stock theme with limitations as to how it may be treated (cf. A. Oltramare, *Les origines de la diatribe romaine* [Lausanne, 1926], p. 141). Other commonplaces occur, such as *vina* (line 13, cf. *Carm.*, II, 7, 21 f.; 11, 17 f.), *unguenta* (13, cf. II, 7, 22 f.; III, 14, 17), *rosae* (14, cf. I, 36, 15; III, 19 22), the motif of the *heres* (19 f., cf. II, 14, 25 ff.; III, 24, 61 f.; IV, 7, 19 f.), the contrast of rich and poor (21 ff., cf. I, 4, 13 f.; II, 18, 32 f.). It must, however, be noted that some of these clichés are remarkably successful (e. g. *aequam mentem, flavus Tiberis, urna*, discussed below): a moderate example is 6 f. *te per dies festos bearis*, where the temporal phrase is hackneyed and almost technical (e. g. *Serm.*, II, 2, 83 [the origin of *Carm.*, III, 8, 9]; II, 3, 143; *Carm.*, III, 14, 13; 28, 1; *Epist.*, I, 5, 9 f.), but given interest by the verb *bearis*, "archaïque ou familier" (Plessis, cf. Fr. Ruckdeschel, *Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz* [diss. München, 1910], p. 56).

one point of detail. The normal type of Horace's invitation, as observed above, proceeds roughly as follows: stop worrying about present difficulties, life is short, come and enjoy yourself in the carefree countryside. It may, however, be gathered from lines 17 ff. of this ode (*coemptis saltibus, domo villaque,*[38] *exstructis in altum divitiis*) that Dellius is so rich that he has no need to work or worry,[39] no need to *laborare.*[40] Indeed, he seems to be enjoying himself too much. But when he arrives in the supposedly trouble-free countryside, as Horace recommends, there he will find that even the stream *laborat* (11 f.).[41]

There is certainly an element of bitterness underlying the first stanza of the poem, and such paradox or irony is perhaps the clue to the first part of the ode. For it would appear that the opening γνώμη is derived from a poem of Archilochus,[42] a

[38] "Villae autem propter Tiberim sitae ob commeatus facilitatem magni aestimabantur" (Orelli).

[39] Cf. Collinge, p. 139, "Taking all he could from the war, he (Dellius) then flourished materially in the peace; we need not doubt that *coemptis saltibus et domo villaque flavus quam Tiberis lavit* refers directly to his possessions."

[40] Wealth can, of course, imply *cura* (cf. *Carm.*, II, 16, 11 f. *curas laqueata circum / tecta volantes*; III, 16, 17 *crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam*; *Epist.*, I, 10, 47) and it was a common text that the *avarus* is unhappy (cf. Dio Chr., 4, 96; Oltramare, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 142). Some might therefore say that this is the clue to the ode. But this is difficult in so far as it is Horace, the poet/teacher, who ought to be pointing out to Dellius the misery which results from his wealth; on the contrary, however, Horace has already isolated Dellius' trouble in vivid language, and it is *insolens laetitia.* To make this explanation work, Horace would have to be counselling on two different levels about two superficially opposed problems. An unlikely hypothesis in the context of the poem as a whole.

[41] Wilkinson, p. 129, well describes *laborat* and *trepidare* as "words that recall the feverish toil of worldly affairs" (cf. the use of the verb at *Carm.*, II, 11, 4 f. *nec trepides in usum / poscentis aevi pauca*; III, 29, 31 f. *si mortalis ultra / fas trepidat*).

[42] As pointed out by Orelli and Ussani. The poem is Arch., 68a D(iehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*[3] [1964])=118 L(asserre)-B(onnard) (*Arch. Fragments* [Paris, 1958]), and commences as follows:

θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε,
†ἀνάδυ†, δυσμενέων δ' ἀλέξευ προσβαλὼν ἐναντίον
στέρνον, †ἐν δοκοῖσιν ἐχθρῶν† πλησίον καταστηθεὶς
ἀσφαλέως.

poet whom Horace in the Epodes was the first Roman to imitate,[43] and who had a reputation for his biting *θυμός*.[44] In writing his lyric poetry Horace was mainly concerned with following Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon,[45] but on a very few occasions he seems to imitate Archilochus.[46] For example, Horace addresses Lyce,[47] *fis anus, et tamen vis formosa videri;* the language is sharp, and apparently modelled on a line of Archilochus,[48] *οὐκ ἂν μύροισι γρῆυς ἐοῦσ' ἠλείφεν.* It might not be untrue to say that in certain contexts in the Odes when Horace imitates Archilochus, he wants his readers to be aware of the Archilochian spirit pervading the *carmen.*[49] It is naturally most important to take into account the contexts of the two poems in question (Horace's ode and its Archilochian model), and the lines of Archilochus here imitated by Horace [50] might seem to be plain moralising.

[43] Cf. Hor., *Epod.*, 6, 13 ff.; *Epist.*, I, 19, 23 ff.; Fraenkel, pp. 60, 342.

[44] E. g. Pind., *Pyth.*, 2, 99; Diog. Laer., II, 95; Hor., *A. P.*, 79; Ov., *Ib.*, 53. It must, of course, be admitted that Archilochus had other aspects to his talent (cf. Philod., *de Poem.*, II, 29 [p. 252 Hausrauth, p. 138 Treu]; *καὶ Σαπφώ τινα ἰαμβικῶς ποιεῖ, καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος οὐκ ἰαμβικῶς*), but it was his *θυμός* for which he was really remembered.

[45] Cf. *Carm.*, I, 1, 34; 32, 3-5; III, 30, 13; *Epist.*, I, 19, 32 f.; Fraenkel, pp. 154 ff.

[46] D. West, *Reading Horace* (Edinburgh, 1967), p. 114, n. 68, parallels Hor., *Carm.*, I, 2, 6-12 with Arch., 74 D = 82 L-B, lines 6 ff. (but *μετακόσμησις* in general is quite common, e. g. Theocr., I, 134; Herod., V, 92 *init.*; Hor., *Epod.*, 16, 33 f.; Virg., *E.*, 1, 60; 8, 53 ff.; Ov., *Tr.*, I, 8, 1 ff.); I, 35, 1-4 with Arch., 58 D = 123 L-B (but note also Pind., *Ol.*, 12). For Horace's Odes and Archilochus see K. P. Schulze, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XXXVI (1916), pp. 348-9; V. Pöschl, *L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovide* (Fond. Hardt, Entretiens, II, 1953), pp. 96-8.

[47] *Carm.*, IV, 13, 2 f.

[48] 27 D = 237 L-B. The theme recalls that of *Carm.*, I, 25, one of Horace's most bitter odes.

[49] The relationship of the Odes to the Epodes is close (cf. Fraenkel, p. 65) and might assist this notion. E. Wistrand, however, *Archilochus and Horace* (Fond. Hardt, Entretiens, X, 1963), p. 279, goes much too far in saying "Archilochus opened the source of the rich and varied flow of Horace's lyric poetry." H. Bardon, on the other hand, *op. cit.*, p. 354, warns against imputing too much importance generally to Greek models: "chez Horace, tout nous ramène à Horace."

[50] Arch., 68a D = 118 L-B, lines 4-7:

καὶ μήτε νικέων ἀμφάδην ἀγάλλεο,
μηδὲ νικηθεὶς ἐν οἴκωι καταπεσὼν ὀδύρεο,

But it is not at all impossible that Horace wanted a certain pungency to be evident in *Aequam memento,* because these verses of Archilochus had already been adopted by Lucilius, Horace's model for the *Sermones,* and thus made common to the Roman audience by means of the genre *satura.*[51] It should be stressed that it is generally the context of a poem of Archilochus or Lucilius, and not the actual name of the poet, which provides any imitation with a specific tone. But even though the contexts of these two models for *Aequam memento* are missing, the recurrence of the theme in Archilochus and Lucilius could be a significant coincidence, and a Roman reader may well have known in which spirit to take Horace's moralising.[52]

The above discussion, therefore, postulates that Horace has been unsuccessful in the organisation or presentation of his thought in this ode. At best he may have been too subtle. But there are many who have had no difficulty with this aspect of the poem, and these have had their attention diverted by its individual traits. For it has been seen how much of the ode consists of familiar Horatian clichés, which appear all the more welcome in *Aequam memento* because Horace has felicitously

ἀλλὰ χαρτοῖσίν τε χαῖρε, καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα
μὴ λίην· γίγνωσκε δ' οἷος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει.

Keller and Holder in their edition quote also Eur., fr. 963 N, *Iph. Aul.,* 920 ff. (where Wecklein remarks, "Der Gedanke ist eine Erinnerung an Archilochus"). The last line of Arch., 68a D is reminiscent of Anacreon, 65 D.

[51] Lucil., 699 ff. M:

re in secunda tollere animos, in mala dimittere,
ceterum quid sit, quid non sit, ferre *aequo animo* ac fortiter
cum sciam nihil esse in vita proprium mortali datum.

On the relations of Lucilius here to Archilochus see M. P. Piwonka, *Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt, 1949), pp. 49 f. G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace* (1920), p. 385, is followed, e. g., by N. Terzaghi, *Lucilio* (Torino, 1934), p. 158, in observing that Horace recalls this theme also at *Serm.,* II, 2, 135 f.

[52] *satura* at Rome originally consisted of just such simple moralisings, but it was Lucilius who directed the genre towards censure and polemic. On the origins of *satura* see, e. g., U. Knoche, *Die römische Satire*[3] (1957), pp. 2 ff.; E. Burck, *Nachwort und bibliographische Nachträge* to K-H's ed. of the *Satiren*[8] (1961), pp. 367 ff.; C. A. van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory* (Leiden, 1965).

been able to endow many of them with a new vitality. Thus the normal Latin manner before Horace for expressing ἀταραξία is *aequo animo*, especially frequent in comedy and perhaps therefore colloquial.[53] Horace, however, produces what up to his time was the rarer variant *aequa mens*, and in the accusative after *servare*, as if in ironic indication[54] that Dellius' mind is already *aequa* and that all he must do is keep it so (*servare*). Horace preferred *mentem* to *animum* not only because the change itself provided emphasis,[55] but also because he desired the aphoristic rhyme of *-ment-* in the same place in the Alcaic line:[56]

> Aequam me*mento* rebus in arduis
> servare *men*tem.

Even the trite *aequa* assumes life and colour from the context into which Horace has placed it: Dellius' mind must be *aequa* as opposed to the θυμὸς κυκώμενος of Archilochus, *aequa* (level) in contrast with *res arduae* (steep),[57] *aequa* in the sense of 'right, fitting, *iusta, recta*', *aequa* in the sense of 'equal to',[58]—to say nothing of its fundamental meaning here, 'even.'

Commentators have objected that the epithet *flavus* for *Tiberis* in line 18 is weak because it is the usual word for describing the River Tiber.[59] But they failed to see that this was exactly what Horace wanted. Whenever Dellius was at his villa he saw the

[53] Cf. *T. L. L.*, I, 1035, 70 ff., Marx on Lucil., 700.

[54] For the whole stanza, of course, shows that Dellius' trouble is that he has no *aequa mens*.

[55] There could also be a change of meaning: Horace might be referring to a balanced view of life as opposed to keeping (physically) calm or unruffled.

[56] Insufficient attention is paid to Horace's employment of words with relation to his metre, but it must be remembered that a happy combination can produce "une occasion . . . de jeux et d'effets" (J. Marouzeau, "Horace assembleur de mots," *Emerita*, IV [1936], p. 1). For some exemplary remarks on internal rhyme in Horace see Wilkinson, pp. 137 ff., and cf. also J. Marouzeau, "Horace artiste de sons," *Mnem.*, IV (1936), pp. 85 ff.; O. Skutsch, *B. I. C. S.*, XI (1964), pp. 73-8.

[57] This excellent point was made by Wickham.

[58] Cf. *Epist.*, I, 17, 24 *temptantem maiora fere praesentibus aequum*.

[59] Cf. above, note 37. Wickham, however, provided the right interpretation.

Tiber as *flavus* as it rolled past; and whenever he imagined the river it would always be *flavus*. In making the picture as familiar as possible, Horace by contrast emphasises the pathos of Dellius' eventual loss. Commentators are also to blame for taking line 10, where Horace with appropriate elisions is entwining branches, simply at its face value with never a thought for the notion of love-making: [60]

umbr(am) hospitalem consociar(e) amant.

But "the use of the words *consociare amant* is meant to give a hint that Horace seldom omits when his theme is the brevity of life, that love-making as well as drinking should not be neglected." [61] The line itself presents a tranquil image, whereas often "dans le detail de paysage, il s'arrête surtout sur l'instable." [62] Sure enough there appears the *lympha fugax* in the following lines and it is hard not to agree that "the laboring stream, trembling along in its devious course, suggests the transience of all human efforts." [63] In describing the course of the stream (*obliquo . . . rivo*), Horace separates adjective and noun as far as possible from each other, thus emphasising his description, since *pinus, populus,* and *umbram* are all juxtaposed to

[60] Macleane (ed. 1853) makes the classic observation, "How little that notion suits the epithet *hospitalem* must be obvious to anyone"! Critics of Latin poetry seem apt to forget that the assumption *plus significas quam loqueris* was apparently as familiar then as it is now (cf. Quint., VIII, 2, 11).

[61] Wilkinson, p. 129, rightly, following Orelli. There is a similar undertone at *Carm.*, I, 25, 3 f. *amatque / ianua limen.* It is perhaps unlikely, in fact, that Dellius needed any encouragement along these lines: quite apart from his other activities in the Civil Wars he was known to have sent *epistulae lascivae* to Cleopatra (Sen., *Suas.*, I, 7, but suspected as an interpolation by Kiessling).

[62] H. Bardon, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[63] S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (Yale Univ. Press, 1962), p. 284. Cf. especially *Carm.*, II, 4, 23 *trepidavit aetas.* It is not, however, possible to agree with Commager that lines 17-20 may be an extension of the idea of building into the sea, to which Horace supposedly returned "persistently, with a mixture of fascination and outrage" (cf. Commager, p. 82; Hor., *Carm.*, III, 1, 33 f.; Sall., *C.*, 13, 1; Vell., II, 33, 4; and W. Kroll, *Wien. Stud.*, XXXVII [1915], p. 228). All may depend on whether Dellius had a "sea-house" or not; but without further information it requires too much to be read into *in altum.*

their respective epithets.[64] This does not prevent Horace from employing another familiar technique: for in the phrase *pinus ingens albaque populus* "the double contrast between the slender poplar white in the wind and the gloom of the heavier pine is indicated, after Horace's manner, by one epithet with each of the pair of substantives."[65] Similarly in the previous stanza Horace echoes *remoto* with *interiore*: both mean, in effect, "the farthest away possible," but *remoto* indicates a place far into the open countryside, *interiore* the deepest and darkest recess of a wine-cellar.

Such care over word-order is highly characteristic of Horace and evident elsewhere in the ode. Thus in the penultimate stanza he says that it matters not to death whether you are rich or poor; and the words which express impartiality (*nil interest*) are neatly inserted, as if in actual neutrality, between the phrase denoting riches (*divesne prisco . . .*)[66] and that denoting poverty (*an pauper . . .*). Horace concludes the stanza by referring to man as *victima nil miserantis Orci*, which recalls his Homeric description at *Carm.*, II, 14, 10 *quicumque terrae munere vescimur*.[67] The mention of *victima* has led commentators to think that *cogimur* in the final stanza is used metaphorically, as if man were a flock of sheep;[68] but since the subsequent mention of *urna* and *sors* represents an image "durch den im öffentlichen Leben Roms vielfach geübten Brauch der Losung nahe gelegt,"[69] then *cogimur*, a verb often used in the context of public life,[70] perhaps belongs rather to this picture. At any rate the motif of the *urna*, used elsewhere at *Carm.*, III, 1, 16, appealed to Horace

[64] So C. Witke, *C. P.*, LXI (1966), p. 251. He has other more fanciful ideas about the trees, but for a more balanced view see Collinge, p. 5.

[65] Wickham, *ad loc.*

[66] The asyndeton of line 21 balances ill with the *pauper et infima . . .* of line 22. Peerlkamp favoured *prisco* ⟨*et*⟩ *natus ab Inacho*, which may well be right.

[67] In the previous line *sub divo moreris* "hints at the custom of letting *victimae* out into the fields for a while when they were due for sacrifice" (Wilkinson, p. 37, n. 1).

[68] E. g. Plessis, Wickham, Page. Cf. *Carm.*, III, 9, 18.

[69] Kiessling-Heinze.

[70] Cf. *T. L. L.*, III, 1519, 79 ff. This is not to say that the common and more general idea of the confines of death is not present (cf. *Carm.*, I, 4, 16; II, 14, 9; IV, 7, 25 ff.)

and perhaps corroborates a hint of Homeric colouring at the conclusion of *Aequam memento*.[71]

Such individual traits as have been noted here, evidence in themselves of Horace's famous *callida iunctura* and *curiosa felicitas*, ought nevertheless not to blind the critic to a proper examination of the thought of Horace's Odes. It has been suggested in this paper that Odes, II, 3, at least, can be faulted in this respect,[72] and if a similar method of analysis were to be applied to other of the more popular odes it might again reveal Horace's clichés running away with him.[73]

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[71] Lambinus and Ussani quote Hom., *Il.*, III, 316, VII, 175. For ideas or language related to the last stanza in general see the parallels quoted by A. Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern und gleichzeitigen röm. Dichtern*, I (Innsbruck, 1869), p. 456; K. P. Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

[72] This paper was accepted for publication before the appearance of Gordon Williams' *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), who on pp. 112 f. has some brief but relevant remarks on the ode.

[73] Prof. C. O. Brink, Mr R. G. G. Coleman, and Mr J. C. Bramble kindly read and commented on an earlier draft of this paper.

HĔRÔDŎTUS' OTHĔR *LÔGOÍ*.

After describing how Cyaxares the Mede wined, dined, and liquidated the Scythian chiefs, Herodotus writes (I, 106, 2),

> Thus the Medes won back their empire and gained control over their former subjects, and they took Nineveh (how they took it I shall show in other *logoi*) and subjected the Assyrians, with the exception of the Babylonian territory.[1]

The story of Cyrus' conquest of this Babylonian territory is prefaced in the *Histories* by a survey of the wonders and the history of Babylon. Herodotus introduces his history of the Babylonian monarchs with the sentence (I, 184),

> There were, it seems, many other kings of this city Babylon (whom I shall mention in the Assyrian *logoi*) who embellished the walls and the temples, but there were two women of special importance.[2]

These two promises are fulfilled nowhere in the *Histories,* and so suggest that Herodotus envisioned writing other *logoi* after finishing that work. But since it is generally held that when, *ca.* 426, Herodotus published the *Histories* he could not have been contemplating any other work, much effort has been expended to prove that the promises in I, 106 and I, 184 were not meant to imply what they seem to imply.

One line of argument holds that the two promises are relics of an early version of the *Histories,* a version in which the Assyrian *logoi* had been included. After deciding to make the Persian Wars the central theme of his second edition, Herodotus struck out most of the Assyrian material, but forgot to strike out the promises in I, 106 and I, 184.[3] Another argument proposes

[1] Καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τήν τε Νίνον εἷλον (ὡς δὲ εἷλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης (ed. Hude).

[2] τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο.

[3] J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 18-

that Herodotus intended to include the Assyrian *logoi* in our version of the *Histories,* in connection with his description of the Babylonian revolt against Darius, which now stands in III, 150-60; but by the time he composed Book III Herodotus had forgotten his original outline.[4] Or perhaps he planned to include the Assyrian *logoi* in connection with an account of the Babylonian revolt against Xerxes. That revolt occurred after the Persian Wars, and would have been discussed by Herodotus had he lived to complete the *Histories* (for Herodotus had no intention of ending his work with the fall of Sestos). The promises in I, 106 and I, 184 are, for some scholars, the clearest proof that the *Histories* are unfinished.[5] Still another line of argument holds that I, 184 does not promise anything beyond the Babylonian *logos* which we find in I, 178-200.[6]

23, says of the two passages, "That they refer to a work separate from the History, one which had already perished in antiquity, is inconceivable." Powell argued that the Assyrian *logoi* appeared in the first edition of the *Histories,* and that Herodotus later decided that they "overweighted the narrative" and so deleted them from the second edition. A. Maddalena, *Interpretazioni Erodotee* (Padua, 1942), devoted to the question a full chapter, "Gli Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι e lo svolgimento della storia," and concluded that after having written the Assyrian *logoi* Herodotus had second thoughts about them. Realizing that they were not essential for an understanding of the Persian Wars, he trimmed them down to the dimensions which we now see in the Babylonian *logos,* I, 178-200.

[4] A. Kirchoff, *Über die Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtswerkes* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 3-5.

[5] Th. Ebert, *Zur Frage nach der Beendigung des herodoteischen Geschichtswerkes in besonderer Berücksichtigung der* Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι (Kiel, 1911), built his thesis on these two promises. Jacoby, "Herodotos," *R.-E.,* Suppl. Bd. II, col. 373, heartily endorsed Ebert's conclusions. But this solution to the problem of the Assyrian *logoi* is no longer acceptable. It now appears that there was no Babylonian revolt against Xerxes in 478. There may have been an uprising in 482. See especially G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," *Am. J. of Sem. Lang. and Lit.,* LVIII (1941), pp. 319-25, and F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Die babylonischen Prätendenten zur Zeit Xerxes," *Bib. Or.,* XIX (1962), pp. 110-14.

[6] This bizarre solution was proposed by F. Focke, *Herodot als Historiker* (Stuttgart, 1927), pp. 15-18, and has been elaborated by J. Wikarjak, *Historia Powszechna Herodota* (Poznan, 1961), pp. 37-42. Their argument demands that the τοῖσι of I, 184 must be translated not as "the" but as "these," and that ἄλλοι βασιλέες is not the antecedent of the first relative pronoun.

From time to time it has been suggested that Herodotus did in fact plan to write other *logoi* after finishing the *Histories*. A recent article on the subject proposes that he not only so intended, but actually succeeded in publishing them. But the evidence marshalled to support this thesis is nothing more than a dubious emendation in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*.[7] I believe that an additional bit of evidence is available.

Herodotus promises to tell how Nineveh fell, and he promises to name Assyrian monarchs other than the two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris, whose exploits he recounts in I, 184-7. Hero-

[7] Ernst Bachof, "Die 'ΑΣΣΥΡΙΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ des Herodotos," *Jhrb. für cl. Phil.*, CXV (1877), pp. 577-84, proposed that Herodotus intended to write a separate work on Assyria. Bachof demonstrated the improbability of any other solution, but found no evidence to support his own. G. Huxley, "A Fragment of the *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι* of Herodotus," *C.R.B.S.*, VI (1965), pp. 207-12, contends that Herodotus wrote and published his Assyrian *logoi*. In the *Historia Animalium*, VIII, 18 (601 b) Aristotle remarks that certain birds of prey do not drink, and then notes *Ἡσίοδος ἠγνόει τοῦτο· πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον ἀετὸν ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τῇ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου πίνοντα.* One manuscript, Vaticanus 262, reads *Ἡρόδοτος*, all other read *Ἡσίοδος*. Huxley contends that the common reading is corrupt, and that Aristotle wrote *Ἡρόδοτος*. This argument was qualified as "unsicher" by Bachof, p. 577, was rejected by Kirchoff, pp. 3-5, was endorsed by H. Stein (on p. liii, n. 4, of his 1901 edition of Herodotus I), and was strongly urged by Powell, p. 35. The common reading, alas, can be supported. As has been noted frequently, the Hesiodic *Ornithomanteia* would have been Aristotle's most likely source for a story about an oracular eagle. Huxley argues that since Nineveh fell in 612, and since Hesiod died long before 612, Aristotle could not have been of the opinion that Hesiod described the fall of Nineveh. But, although *we* know when Nineveh fell, it cannot be assumed that Aristotle knew the same. Aristotle knew Ctesias' version of the fall of Nineveh (see the verbal similarities between Aristotle's and Ctesias' descriptions of Sardanapalus carding wool with his concubines: *Politics*, V, 8, 1311 b 35, and Ctesias, fr. 1p [Ctesias = no. 688 in Jacoby's *F. Gr. Hist.*]. For Aristotle's use of Ctesias on this and other subjects see Jacoby, "Ktesias," *R.-E.*, XI, cols. 2067 and 2072). According to Ctesias, Nineveh fell *ca.* 875. If Aristotle, like Ctesias, believed that Nineveh fell several centuries before the reign of Cyrus, he would not have been surprised to read about the siege in the *Ornithomanteia*. That work, appended directly to the *Works and Days*, was in fact not composed by Hesiod, but was attached to the Hesiodic corpus in the sixth century. See J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Leiden, 1960), p. 30.

dotus thought of the Babylonians as a subspecies of the Assyrians, and states that the capital of Assyria was at Nineveh until its fall, whereupon it was transferred to Babylon.[8] As Herodotus saw it, the only Assyrian monarchs who ruled from Babylon were the elder Labynetus, Nitocris (his widow), and the younger Labynetus (their son).[9] It was against the latter that Cyrus' expedition was directed.[10] Any other kings of Assyria, in Herodotus' view, would have ruled from Nineveh. Like Semiramis, these other monarchs may have lavished attention not only on their capital, but also on the great city of Bablylon. At any rate, when Herodotus promised to tell about Assyrian monarchs other than Nitocris and Semiramis, he could have had in mind only the Labyneti, or Ninevite kings. About the Labyneti he apparently knew no more than we read in the *Histories*,[11] and so it

[8] For Herodotus' equation of Babylonians and Assyrians see, in addition to I, 178-200 *passim*, II, 17, 1; III, 92, 1; 155, 2; IV, 39; and VII, 63. In I, 178, 1 he writes, "There are, it seems, many other great cities of Assyria, but the most famous and powerful city, and the one where their royal residence stood after the destruction of Nineveh, was Babylon."

[9] Herodotus, I, 74, 3 reports that Labynetus the Babylonian and Syennesis the Cilician brought about a reconciliation between Alyattes and Cyaxares; Cyaxares, it will be recalled, had destroyed Nineveh. In I, 188, 1 we read that Nitocris was the wife of the elder Labynetus and the mother of the younger. I, 185 implies that Nitocris became queen very soon after the fall of Nineveh.

[10] I, 188, 1.

[11] The second Labynetus must be the Nabonidus of Babylonian documents. E. Weidner, "Labynetos," *R.-E.*, XII, cols. 311-12, notes that the Chaldaeans themselves may have thus pronounced the name: "Der Wechsel von *n* und (schwach artikuliertem) *l* im Anlaut ist kein Schreib- oder Hörfehler Herodots, sondern stellt eine graphische Variante dar, die in antiken orientalischen Namen zahlreiche Gegenstücke findet." But Herodotus apparently knew no more than the name of Nabonidus. The elder Labynetus is unhistorical. Nabonidus' father, Nabu-balatsu-ikbi, was a commoner, and his mother was a priestess of the moon god. A fantastic monograph by R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshassar* (*Yale Oriental Series, Researches*, XV [New Haven, 1929]), equates Herodotus' younger Labynetus with Belshazzar, and the older Labynetus with Nabonidus. J. Melkman, "Labynetus," *Mnemosyne*, IX (1941), pp. 105-11, states the more conventional opinion that the elder and younger Labyneti are identical, and that Nabonidus could have served in a diplomatic capacity as early as 585, when Alyattes and Cyaxares came to terms. Nitocris is unhistorical, and

seems that his Assyrian *logoi* would have had something to say about kings who ruled from Nineveh.

In I, 106 Herodotus says that in other *logoi* he would tell how Nineveh fell. Since he does not tell the story in the context of his Median *logos*, he must have felt that it was not so germane to the deeds of Cyaxares as it was to the sufferings of Nineveh. In other words, it may not have detailed the skill and bravery of the Medes, but may have described the fall of Nineveh from the Assyrian vantage point.

The conclusion is inescapable that one of the stories which Herodotus intended to include in his Assyrian *logoi* was the remarkable tale of Sardanapalus, the last king of Nineveh, who immolated himself on his grand pyre when he took time from his debaucheries to note that his empire was crumbling. The story of Sardanapalus was told at great length by fourth century writers, and became one of the two stock chapters in Greek histories of Assyria (the other being the career of Semiramis).

Herodotus mentions Sardanapalus once, in II, 150, where he digresses from his description of an underground tunnel in Egypt. That tunnel, he says, reminds him of a tunnel which thieves in Nineveh dug to empty the treasury of "Sardanapalus, the son of Ninus."[12] Herodotus' contemporary, Hellanicus, reported that there were two Sardanapali, but we do not know how much Hellanicus had to say about either.[13] In the early fourth century Ctesias wrote in detail about Sardanapalus' tragic end.

The complete story of Sardanapalus, as told by a variety of Greek and Latin writers, invariably included the hexameters which graced Sardanapalus' tomb:[14]

is hardly Nebuchadnezzar in female disguise. The defects of Herodotus' Babylonian history are intelligently discussed by W. Baumgartner, "Herodots babylonische und assyrische Nachrichten," *Archiv Orientální*, XVIII, 1 (1950), pp. 84-97.

[12] *Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος.* The city of Nineveh is always feminine in gender (Herodotus, I, 102, 2; 103, 2; 178, 1; 193, 2 and especially II, 150, 2 and 3: *ἡ Νίνος*). The eponymous founder of the city is the masculine, *ὁ Νίνος*; cf. I, 7, 2.

[13] Hellanicus, fr. 63.

[14] Diodorus, II, 23, 3. The occasional discrepancies in the various citations of the epitaph are discussed by E. Meyer, "Sardanapals Grabschrift," *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, I (Halle, 1892), pp. 203-9.

εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυς, σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε
τερπόμενος θαλίῃσι· θανόντι σοι οὔτις ὄνησις·
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδός εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας
ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
τέρπν' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κεῖνα λέλειπται.

This is the epigram as we find it in Diodorus. The last two lines are also recorded by Polybius and Strabo, and Cicero gives us them in Latin translation. Athenaeus gives us the five lines which Diodorus notes, and adds two more. In another passage Athenaeus summarizes the epigram in prose.[15] In the first passage Athenaeus cites Chrysippus as his immediate authority. In the second, Athenaeus tells the whole story of Sardanapalus and his epitaph. Citing Amyntas (an Alexander-historian), Athenaeus tells us that the epigram was inscribed in Nineveh, in "Chaldaean letters, which Choerilus translated and put into poetry."[16] Strabo too introduces the epigram by noting that "Choerilus has recorded this, and the following verses are often quoted."[17]

The Choerilus in question has generally been identified as Choerilus of Iasus, the wretched poet who accompanied Alexander to the East. His talents were accurately judged by Alex-

[15] Polybius, VIII, 10, 3; Strabo, XIV, 5, 9; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, V, 35, 101; Athenaeus, VIII, 336a and XII, 529f-530a.

[16] Athenaeus, XII, 529e-f: "In the third book of his *Stathmoi* Amyntas says that in Nineveh there is a great mound, which Cyrus pulled down while constructing ramps during his siege of the city. It is said that this is the mound of Sardanapalus, who was king of Nineveh, and that here was inscribed, on a stone stele in Chaldaean letters, that which Choerilus translated and put into poetry." Amyntas (*F. Gr. H.*, no. 122) may have been one of Alexander's bematists. Either Amyntas or Athenaeus, or both, confused the tradition. In the first place, Alexander's army did not visit Nineveh. In the second place, Cyrus did not besiege Nineveh. Either Babylon has been confused with Nineveh, or Cyrus with Cyaxares. Diodorus, II, 28, 2, following Ctesias, says that Belesys transferred the ashes of Sardanapalus and his palace from Nineveh to Babylon, and there buried them in a mound outside the city. But wherever the mound had once been, we are told that Cyrus had levelled (*κατασπάσαι*) it, and so Alexander's army can hardly have seen the stone column. They saw a disrupted mound which was identified for them as the mound on which had once stood Sardanapalus' monument, the monument which bore the epigram translated by Choerilus.

[17] Strabo, XIV, 5, 9.

ander, who remarked that he would rather have been Homer's Thersites than Choerilus' Achilles.[18] The basis for identifying Choerilus of Iasus as the 'translator' of the epigram is rather slight. Pomponius Porphyrio, a scholar who may have lived in the third century A. D., wrote a commentary on Horace. In *Ars Poetica*, 357 Horace derided the Iasian, and in his commentary upon that line Pomponius notes: *poeta pessimus fuit Choerilus, qui Alexandrum secutus opus eius descripsit. Huius omnino septem versus laudabantur.* Since, in the version of Athenaeus, seven lines of the Sardanapalus epitaph are given, scholars have concluded that these are the seven lines of the Iasian's epic which were admired.[19]

But the identification is implausible.[20] First of all, Pomponius' comments can hardly support the thesis. We do not know what *septem versus* he had in mind. Strabo indicates that only two lines of the epitaph were popularly known. At any rate, had Pomponius read an epic written in Greek by this *poeta pessimus*? Secondly, neither Strabo nor Athenaeus implies that the epigram was translated by Choerilus of Iasus. Choerilus is mentioned by Strabo in one other passage. There too he does not specify which Choerilus he has in mind, but in that passage he is clearly referring to the much better known Choerilus of Samos.[21] Athenaeus mentions Choerilus two other times, nowhere identifying him as the Samian, but in each case he has the Samian in mind.[22] When Strabo and Athenaeus wrote that

[18] Pomponius Porphyrio, commentary on Horace, *Epist.*, II, 1, 233-4. For details on Choerilus of Iasus see O. Crusius, "Choirilos," *R.-E.*, III, cols. 2161-3.

[19] The first to reach that conclusion was A. F. Naeke, *Choerili Samii quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1817), pp. 205 ff.

[20] Meyer, *op. cit.*, concluded that Choerilus of Iasus could not have been the first Greek to cite the epitaph, and suggested that the epitaph had appeared in an early fifth century prose work, perhaps that of Dionysius of Miletus. But it is unlikely, as we shall see, that the epitaph was known before Herodotus' time.

[21] Strabo, VII, 3, 9, a reference to Darius' crossing of the Hellespont = Choerilus Samius, fr. 3 in G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1877).

[22] Athenaeus, VIII, 345d is included by Kinkel under the testimonia for Choerilus of Samos; Athenaeus, XI, 464a-b = fr. 9. In IV, 164c Athenaeus quotes some lines from the comic poet Alexis; the Choerilus mentioned in these lines is perhaps the Athenian tragedian.

'Choerilus' translated the epitaph of Sardanapalus, they apparently were thinking of Choerilus of Samos. Certainly the innocent reader, unless he hailed from Iasus, would have identified their 'Choerilus' as the fifth century poet. Thirdly, there is evidence that Aristotle knew the epigram. After citing the verses Cicero informs us that Aristotle had denounced their sentiment: *quid aliud, inquit Aristoteles, in bovis, non in regis sepulcro inscriberes.*[23] Elsewhere Cicero writes

> Corporis autem voluptas si etiam praeterita delectat, non intellego cur Aristoteles Sardanapalli epigramma tantopere derideat, in quo rex Syriae glorietur omnis se libidinum voluptates abstulisse.[24]

Unless Choerilus of Iasus issued his opus in installments and Aristotle read them as soon as they arrived in Greece, the philosopher could not have read the epigram in the Iasian's epic. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence that Aristotle was quite familiar with the poetry of Choerilus of Samos.[25] Finally, there is good reason to think that Diodorus transcribed his version of the epigram from Ctesias' *Persica*, and Ctesias long antedated Choerilus of Iasus.[26] Taken together, these arguments

[23] Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, V, 35, 101.

[24] Cicero, *De Finibus*, II, 32, 106; cf. Athenaeus, VIII, 335f and Aristotle, *Nic. Ethics*, 1095 b.

[25] Aristotle, *Top.*, VIII, 153 a; *Rhet.*, III, 1415 a.

[26] There has never been any doubt that Diodorus' history of Assyria (II, 1-28) was taken from Ctesias' *Persica*. In these chapters Diodorus cites Ctesias nine times, and cites no other authority. Carl Jacoby, "Ktesias und Diodor," *Rh. Mus.*, XXX (1875), pp. 555-615, and J. Marquart, "Die Assyriaka des Ctesias," *Philologus*, Suppl. Bd. VI (1891-3), pp. 591-658, argued respectively that Clitarchus or Agatharchides had reworked Ctesias' *Persica*, and that Diodorus used the revised version. But P. Krumbholz, "Zu den Assyriaka des Ktesias," *Rh. Mus.*, L (1895), pp. 205-40, demonstrated the considerable defects of such theories. F. Jacoby, "Ktesias," *R.-E.*, XI, col. 2040, concluded that Diodorus excerpted the original *Persica*, and Joan Bigwood, *Ctesias of Cnidus* (unpublished Harvard dissertation, 1964), pp. 3-14, comes to the same conclusion. But Naeke's attribution of the Sardanapalus epitaph to Choerilus of Iasus has been so widely accepted that even Jacoby did not suggest that Diodorus' version of the epitaph comes from Ctesias. In his edition of Ctesias' fragments Jacoby prints all of Diodorus' story of Sardanapalus (II, 23, 1-28, 8) as Ctesias, fr. 1, delet-

point to Choerilus of Samos as the poet who gave to the world a 'translation' of Sardanapalus' epitaph.[27]

A special relationship existed between Choerilus of Samos and Herodotus. In its entry on Choerilus the *Suda* explains:

> He lived in the time of Panyassis, during the Persian Wars, in the 75th Olympiad (480-477) being just a young boy. He became the slave of some Samian, being very handsome in appearance. He fled from Samos and sat at the feet of Herodotus the historian. Some say that he was his lover. He set to writing poetry, and died in Macedonia, at the court of Archelaus, who was then king. He wrote the following: *The Victory of the Athenians over Xerxes.* He received one gold stater for each line of this poem, and it was decreed that his poem should be read alongside those of Homer. *Lamiaca.* And some other poems of his are reported.[28]

The muddled details of this testimonium are not of interest, but clearly the Greeks *thought* that Herodotus and Choerilus were on very familiar terms. The fragments of Choerilus' epic leave no doubt that Herodotus' *Histories* were the prose antecedent of Choerilus' poem.[29]

For some time scholars were of the opinion that Choerilus had restricted himself to the narrow topic of Xerxes' invasion of Greece. But a papyrus fragment reveals that his epic circulated

ing *only* II, 23, 3. I believe that II, 23, 3 is inseparable from the rest of the story. II, 28, 2 (which Jacoby does print as part of Ctesias, fr. 1) clearly implies familiarity with the stele. There we read that Belesys carried the ashes of Sardanapalus to Babylon, buried them in the god's *temenos* near the Euphrates, and heaped over them a mound which would furnish to passersby a "deathless reminder" of the king who had lost the Assyrian empire.

[27] Attribution of the epitaph to Choerilus of Iasus has been disputed on stylistic as well as chronological grounds. See P. Corssen, "Das angeblich Werk des Olynthiers Kallisthenes über Alexander den Grossen," *Philologus,* LXXIV (1917), pp. 42-54. Corssen assigned it to Choerilus of Samos.

[28] Like more recent scholars, the author of the *Suda* has confused the Choerili. Choerilus of Iasus received from Alexander one stater for each line, and wrote about the Lamian war.

[29] See especially fr. 2-3, 5, and 7-8, with Kinkel's cross-references to Herodotus.

under the more general title, *Barbarica, Medica, Persica.*[30] Apparently Choerilus was interested in more than just the last three books of Herodotus' *Histories.* His interest in 'barbarica' indicates that he may have versified whatever *logoi* Herodotus composed on barbarian lands.

I suggest, then, that Herodotus collected a number of stories about Assyrian kings, the most important of which was the tale of Sardanapalus. He may or may not have published these *logoi,* but however that may be it was in these *logoi* that Choerilus learned about Sardanapalus. Either the *logoi* themselves or Choerilus' adaptation of them must have circulated in Athens before 414, for in the *Birds* (published in that year) Aristophanes alludes to Sardanapalus in such a way that we can only conclude that the Athenians knew quite a bit about that elegant scoundrel.[31]

When Herodotus published his *Histories ca.* 426 he knew about Sardanapalus' self-immolation at the fall of Nineveh, and so knew that Sardanapalus was the last king of Nineveh. But his reference to Sardanapalus in II, 150 may have been written before he heard the story. The identification of Sardanapalus as "the son of Ninus" suggests that when he wrote that line Herodotus could not have been thinking of a king who presided over the dissolution of the Assyrian empire; for Herodotus knew that Ninus, the great-grandson of Heracles, had lived more than 520 years before the collapse of the empire.[32]

Let us return to I, 106 and I, 184. Scholars have argued that Herodotus forgot to expunge the promises from those passages. I suggest the opposite: Herodotus added his promises to the earlier text. The parenthetical nature of the first promise is immediately apparent, and editors have accordingly enclosed it with parentheses. There are even greater difficulties with the syntax in I, 184. The ἄλλοι βασιλέες are followed by two relative pronouns, only the second of which logically applies to the antecedent. Even more serious is the particle, κου. Liddell and Scott translate the particle, when it does not have a local meaning, as

[30] *Oxy. Pap.*, no. 1399: Χοιριλου ποιηματα Βαρβαρικα· μηδικ· περσ

[31] *Birds*, 1021. When a stylish inspector appears, Peisthetaerus asks, "And who is this Sardanapalus?"

[32] Herodotus, I, 7, 2 and 95, 2.

"I suppose," or "perhaps." This is certainly the meaning which the word has in other passages where Herodotus uses it.[33] Thus the principal clause expresses Herodotus' uncertainty about other Assyrian monarchs, and the first relative clause promises more information about these "supposed" Assyrian kings! In I, 184 as well as I, 106 the promises are appended to the otherwise normal syntax.[34]

So it appears that after Herodotus was well along in his composition of the *Histories* he heard the *logos* of Sardanapalus. He decided that upon finishing the *Histories* he would write up this and other Assyrian *logoi*. In order to alert the reader to his intentions he inserted two advertisements in I, 106 and I, 184.

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[33] J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 199, suggests "surely" or "perhaps" as translations for Herodotus' κου, and lists 43 instances of that usage in the *Histories*. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 490-1, comments on Herodotus' use of this particle: "The tone of uncertainty, whether real or assumed, is ill-adapted to the precision of history. . . . Herodotus is fond of divesting himself of the historian's omniscience, and assuming a winning fallibility. This often comes out in his use of κου."

[34] The two promises may have originally been inserted along the margin of the scroll. For other examples of 'Randnotizien' which are now part of the text of the *Histories* see Jacoby, "Herodotos," col. 374.

NARRATIVE INCONSISTENCY AND THE ORAL DICTATED TEXT IN THE HOMERIC EPIC.

The link between narrative inconsistency in Homer and the oral technique of thematic composition has been demonstrated by Albert B. Lord. He has shown that certain inconsistencies or illogicalities in Yugoslav heroic songs are due to the use of themes containing details which, in juxtaposition, are incongruous, and on the hypothesis that the Homeric texts were composed in a manner that is analogous to the Yugoslav technique of composition he is able to offer a simple explanation of many inconsistencies in the Homeric narratives.[1] Thus, for example, the presence of Pylaemenes at the burial of his son (*Il.*, XIII, 658), despite an earlier episode where he is mentioned as having been slain by Menelaus (*Il.*, V, 576), is accounted for as the persistence of a detail, the mourning father, in a theme of the death and burial of a son.[2] In the present paper I wish to illustrate another type of inconsistency or illogicality which is caused by the mis-singing or poor rendering of a single theme and to

[1] "Homer and Huso II: Narrative Inconsistencies in Homer and Oral Poetry," *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. 439-45; *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), pp. 94 f., 103, 159-69, 225 (cf. examples on pp. 177-9, 217); "Homer and Other Epic Poetry," in Wace and Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (London, 1962), pp. 191 f. Sir Maurice Bowra, "Composition," in *A Companion to Homer*, pp. 44-54, deals with inconsistency as an oral feature, largely in connection with the epic concentration on "the dramatic present" (pp. 47-51). G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 212 ff., treats mainly "contradictions or illogicalities in the development of plot" (p. 257) and does so largely in terms of the conflation or adaptation of "earlier poetical versions" (p. 227). More recently J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford, 1968), p. 14, n. 1, has observed that inconsistency is one of the features in Homer "most readily accounted for by oral composition," a view which appears to be shared by A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 18, n. 2. See also a related discussion by Frederick M. Combellack, "Some Formulary Illogicalities in Homer," *T. A. P. A.*, XCVI (1965), pp. 41-56.

[2] *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), p. 445. Cf. Bowra, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

look at certain inferences which may then be made concerning the nature of the Homeric texts and their recording.

At the beginning of Fortić's song of the capture of Budapest, No. 20 in Parry and Lord's *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs*,[3] Fortić tells of the arrival of an imperial messenger. In his notes to the text Lord draws attention to the presence of some confusion here and observes the absence of similar confusion in the same theme in No. 21, another rendering of the same song.[4] For, in No. 20, the messenger having arrived gives greeting to the assembled aghas who in return greet him. The bey flies to him (it should be that he flies to the bey[5]) whereupon he brings forth the *ferman*, the imperial missive, and kisses it. The *ferman* is then received by the bey. But at this point the theme continues (lines 81-85):

Pa da vidiš, moji sokolovi!	Then you should have seen, my falcons!
A sad pita carev tatarine:	The imperial messenger cried out:
"O Boga vi, kićeni svatovi!	"In the name of God, festive wedding guests!
Jeste lj' svati bega Ljubovića?"	Are you the guests of Bey Ljubović?"
"Jesmo svati bega Ljubovića!"	"We are the guests of Bey Ljubović!"

This detail is out of place here for it is clearly designed to establish that the messenger did have the right place and person *before* he handed over the *ferman*. Although such an element of enquiry does find a place in the themes of other singers represented in *S. C. H. S.*, II, it is not a regular part of any other published instance of Fortić's theme.[6] Its occurrence here in No. 20, even in the face of a certain illogicality in its use, suggests that Fortić has made a special point of including it, prob-

[3] Vols. I and II (Belgrade and Cambridge, Mass., 1953/1954). Referred to below as *S. C. H. S.*, I and II.

[4] *S. C. H. S.*, I, p. 402, n. 5 and p. 403, n. 8. Cf. the other instances of Fortić's theme in *S. C. H. S.*, II: No. 21, 90-102; No. 22, 87-128 (especially 120-8); No. 23, 86-140 (especially 130-40).

[5] *S. C. H. S.*, I, p. 402, n. 3.

[6] Cf. Ugljanin, No. 1, 135-96 (149), No. 2, 114-78 (137), No. 3, 109-83 (162 f.), No. 11, 68-97 (85 f.); Zogić, No. 24, 83-145 (105 f.), No. 25, 71-130 (97 f.).

ably in an attempt to further ornament his theme. But some factor in his immediate environment has put him off his stride.[7] Indeed, there are two indications of this earlier in the same passage. First, he sings of the bey flying to the messenger instead of the messenger flying to the bey's hand as would have been proper. Second, he resorts to a "filler" line immediately before the inconsistent lines of enquiry, as though he had suddenly realized after line 80 that he had somehow missed the cue for the elaboration and was wondering what to do.[8] Rather than leave out the ornament he goes on to sing it rather clumsily, that is with a certain cost to logicality, but at least before the bey has begun to read the letter, thus preserving something of the point of the enquiry.

The slip, therefore, is one that is closely linked with the circumstances of *oral* composition. Had the poet been writing there would have been no need for either the "filler" verse or the subsequent illogicality. He could easily have stopped after line 80 (since this seems to be the point of hesitation), or, for that matter, at any other point, and corrected the text. Instead it is his practice, of necessity, to continue and to do the best he can to retrieve the situation.[9]

It is possible to discern the same type of inconsistency in Homer.[10] Two examples will illustrate this. The first concerns the scene where Telemachus and Peisistratus take their leave of Menelaus and Helen (*Od.*, XV, 130-82). After they have

[7] For several common circumstances leading to errors, see Lord, "Homer and Other Epic Poetry" (above, note 1), pp. 194 f.

[8] Cf. *S. C. H. S.*, I, p. 402, n. 4.

[9] Of course, in the circumstances of singing for records or tape, or of dictation, it would be possible to stop and go back or to ask the scribe to alter what has been sung. Indeed in an exceptional case in *S. C. H. S.*, II, where there has been a major error, this has happened—though it is interesting to note that it is the scribe, not the singer, who suggests that they start again at the point where the mistake occurred (Ugljanin, No. 4, 763; cf. *S. C. H. S.*, I, p. 342, n. 21, and *The Singer of Tales*, p. 178). On the other hand, everything that goes to make up the oral narrator's art seems to be directed towards continuity of performance, where the possibility of erasing what has already been sung simply does not exist (cf. *The Singer of Tales*, p. 17).

[10] I assume that the two poems are substantially the work of a

eaten and drunk their fill they yoke the horses, mount the chariot and drive forth from the gateway in such a manner as to suggest that they have set out for good and all (145-6):

> ἵππους τε ζεύγνυντ' ἀνά θ' ἅρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον,
> ἐκ δ' ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου.

But then we read (147-9):

> τοὺς δὲ μετ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἕκιε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
> οἶνον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι,
> ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην.

There springs to mind, perhaps a little unfairly, a picture of the chariot speeding through the gate with Menelaus desperately bringing up the rear, wine slopping on his tunic, waving frantically for them to stop. Apparently he is successful, for next we read (150), στῆ δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε. . . . And, indeed, there follows quite a long scene before the departure is finally made good.

Compare the departure of Priam for the Greek camp to recover the body of Hector (*Il.*, XXIV, 281-329):

(1)

Od. Horses yoked; chariot mounted; departure. XV, 145-6
Il. Horses yoked. XXIV, 281-2

(2)

Od. τοὺς δὲ μετ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἕκιε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
οἶνον ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι,
ἐν δέπαϊ χρυσέῳ, ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην.
στῆ δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε, δεδισκόμενος δὲ προσ-
ηύδα. . . . XV, 147-50

Il. ἀγχίμολον δέ σφ' ἦλθ' Ἑκάβη τετιηότι θυμῷ,
οἶνον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῇφι.
χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαϊ, ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην.

single poet. The thematic characteristics of the two texts are one compelling indication of this, as I hope to show in another paper (cf. Lord's observation of the way themes show the characteristic marks of a single singer, *The Singer of Tales*, p. 93).

στῆ δ' ἵππων προπάροιθεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε . . . . XXIV, 283-6

(3)

Od. Conversation, Menelaus and Telemachus. XV, 151-9

Il. Conversation, Hecabe and Priam; washing of hands;[11] libations; prayer. XXIV, 302-14

(4)

Od. Omen (eagle); interpretation. XV, 160-81
Cf. XV, 164-5:
δεξιὸς ἦϊξε πρόσθ' ἵππων · οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
γήθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

Il. Omen (eagle). XXIV, 315-21
Cf. XXIV, 320-1:
δεξιὸς ἄϊξας διὰ ἄστεος. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες
γήθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη.

(5)

Od. Ἡ καὶ ἐφ' ἵπποιϊν μάστιν βάλεν· οἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα
ἤϊξαν πεδίονδε διὰ πτόλιος μεμαῶτες. XV, 182-3

Il. Σπερχόμενος δ' ὁ γεραιὸς ἑοῦ ἐπεβήσετο δίφρου,
ἐκ δ' ἔλασε προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου. XXIV, 322-3
Drives through city (lashing horses); mourners follow. XXIV, 324-8
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν πόλιος κατέβαν, πεδίον δ' ἀφίκοντο
. . . . XXIV, 329

The two passages may be considered elaborated instances of a theme of departure which is used in a "brief" form at *Od.*, III, 481-5, 492-5 and XV, 190-2. In the Spartan scene the poet, by beginning with the formula, ἵππους τε ζεύγνυντ' ἀνά θ' ἅρματα ποικίλ' ἔβαινον (*Od.*, XV, 145 = III, 492 = XV, 190), has almost immediately gone past the point where any ornamentation, including conversation, libations, and omen, should have occurred, namely straight after the yoking of the horses and

[11] Cf. the similar element in the feast theme prior to Telemachus' departure, *Od.*, XV, 135-7.

before the mounting of the chariot as was the case in the Trojan scene (yoking: XXIV, 281; mounting: XXIV, 322).[12] He has continued with ἐκ δ' ἔλασαν προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου in what appears to have been a familiar pattern (*Od.*, XV, 146 = III, 493 = XV, 191 = *Il.*, XXIV, 323; cf. *Od.*, XV, 145-6, III, 492-3, XV, 190-1, *Il.*, XXIV, 322-3), before abruptly changing direction and beginning, rather too late, to elaborate after the manner of *Il.*, XXIV, 281 ff. Either he had intended all along to ornament this particular departure and had slipped up through a temporary lapse in concentration (cf. Fortić, above) so that he had almost automatically started to recite the "brief" form of the theme (which would probably have continued with *Od.*, III, 484 = 494 = XV, 192 and something equivalent to III, 485, 495 and *Il.*, XXIV, 329) or else he had simply made up his mind to elaborate it rather late in the piece. At any rate the abruptness of the change makes it unlikely that he was unaware of his error and it is probably no accident that when he does finally reach the departure proper he avoids any of his regular "departure" verses which might have attracted attention to the fact that he had already recited more of the regular theme than he should have done.[13]

[12] Since making this analysis I have seen that Hoekstra, too, has observed that something is amiss with this passage and has suggested a link with oral composition. He remarks that despite 149b no libation takes place, notices that "in contrast with Priam in Ω 281 ff., Telemachus and his companion *have already mounted their chariot*" (my italics), and questions whether Telemachus was "really meant to perform the libations under these circumstances." He concludes that "the passage is probably to be regarded as a rather carelessly abbreviated version of a traditional theme of leave-taking" and wonders whether "we have to do with the effects of oral composition . . ." (*op. cit.* [above, note 1], p. 117, n. 3).

[13] This would account for XV, 182, which is precisely equivalent to the *formula* used elsewhere, *Od.*, III, 484 = 494 = XV, 192. Note, too, the "necessary" enjambement which may well be a further indication of extempore (i.e., unrehearsed) composition by a skilled poet. Cf. Milman Parry, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *T.A.P.A.*, LXI (1929), pp. 200-20; Albert B. Lord, "Homer and Huso III: Enjambement in Greek and Southslavic Epos," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX (1948), pp. 113-24; Mark W. Edwards, "Some Features of Homeric Craftsmanship," *T.A.P.A.*, XCVII (1966), pp. 122-37, 176; G. S. Kirk, "Verse-structure and Sentence-structure in Homer,"

A further example of inconsistency where the same exegesis is helpful is found in the visit of Hermes to Calypso, *Odyssey*, Book V. Hermes arrives and is recognized. The scene continues (85-8):

> Ἑρμείαν δ' ἐρέεινε Καλυψώ, δῖα θεάων,
> ἐν θρόνῳ ἱδρύσασα φανεινῷ σιγαλόεντι·
> Τίπτε μοι, Ἑρμεία χρυσόρραπι, εἰλήλουθας
> αἰδοῖός τε φίλος τε; πάρος γε μὲν οὔ τι θαμίζεις.

Calypso elaborates in the same vein for another two verses before concluding (91), ἀλλ' ἔπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω. But she proceeds to ignore the implications of ἕπεο προτέρω and sets before the god a table and food.[14]

The "arrival and welcome" part of the visit of Thetis to Hephaestus, *Iliad*, Book XVIII, may be construed as another instance of the same theme. Here the visitor arrives and is recognized by Charis who asks the same question Calypso asked Hermes. The two verses of elaboration (89-90) are missing (the whole speech occurs later when Thetis confronts Hephaestus himself, XVIII, 424-7) and there are small changes to accommodate a different person of different sex. Otherwise the diction of the key question (*Od.*, V, 87-8, *Il.*, XVIII, 385-6) is the same. Charis then makes the suggestion that seemed out of place in the *Odyssey* (*Il.*, XVIII, 387, cf. *Od.*, V, 91), ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι πὰρ ξείνια θείω, and we read (*Il.*, XVIII, 388-9):

> Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα πρόσω ἄγε δῖα θεάων.
> τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου . . . .

Y. C. S., XX (1966), pp. 105-52, especially 126 f. This is a case where we do have criteria for distinguishing certain types of composition, namely the well-rehearsed formula and the *probable* "extempore" (cf. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 119).

[14] Leaf's comment on the parallel verse, *Il.*, XVIII, 387, unconsciously points up the illogicality: "With προτέρω we may perhaps compare the Italian *Avanti!* = 'come in'" (*The Iliad* [2nd ed., London, 1902], II, p. 296). Because of the inconsistency Merry's edition (Oxford, 1899), for example, deletes V, 91, noting in support that the line is omitted by many MSS. Van der Valk, however, cites this omission as one example of what he describes as the Alexandrian principle of abridgement of the text (*Textual Criticism of the Odyssey* [Leiden, 1949], p. 272).

In fact, with the calling to Hephaestus and the ensuing conversation any ξείνια in the way of food is forgotten so that a meal theme does not follow as it does in the *Odyssey* and as the detail of the welcome theme demanded. For our purposes, however, the flow of the theme up to this point highlights the mistake in the *Odyssey* rendering—there the poet has made Hermes *sit down* too soon. *Od.*, V, 91 probably marks the point where the singer has become aware of his mistake. For it is his attempt to rectify things by omitting the now redundant verses (with their reference to sitting) which follow naturally from V, 91 = *Il.*, XVIII, 387 (viz. *Il.*, XVIII, 388-9) that leaves the present inconsistency. And had he realized very much earlier that he had mentioned sitting too soon he need not have included V, 91, thus leaving it open for him to move easily into the verses that he does go on to use (V, 92 ff.).[15] As it is, by moving straight to the laying of the table, he manages to avoid making an already seated Hermes sit down again, which would have been a prominent error, but at the small cost of ignoring ἀλλ' ἔπεο προτέρω. . . .

This feature of the texts, therefore, fits well with the theory that the Homeric texts are oral as well as traditional in a way that has close analogies with what is known of the Yugoslav oral narrative tradition. On the other hand, any "literary" theory of the composition of the poems is still left with the problem of the inconsistencies as it has presented itself to Analyst and Unitarian schools in the past. Indeed it is more difficult to view our particular type of inconsistency as due to simple lapse of memory such as could happen to a literary author when composing a large-scale narrative than it is to view thus the more striking type of inconsistency which Lord has associated with the use of themes containing incongruous detail (see above, p. 192). Whereas the latter type often involves examples where the inconsistent elements lie at some distance from each other (as, for example, in the Pylaemenes case), the illogicality of the former type springs from the immediate context and, moreover, in the instances discussed here, there is good reason for supposing that the poet had become aware of his error.[16]

[15] Though this would depend to some extent upon his skill in adapting his regular thematic patterns to new contexts or in exigencies such as the one in which he now finds himself.

[16] Of the possibility of slips in literary authors, usually involving

But if the slips indicate an *oral* text they may also be construed as evidence for Lord's hypothesis that the texts were recorded by dictation from the actual composer.[17] Even allowing that the author were an oral traditional singer who had learnt to write and was recording his own poem it is clear that one of the main exigencies leading to the thematic slip is removed, namely the peculiar circumstances of *oral* composition. It could perhaps be argued that the habit of oral composition would persist in the literate singer who would be subject still to influences such as that I suggested may have contributed to the poet's premature despatch of Telemachus and Peisistratus, namely the often-used "brief" form of the theme. But there still remains a difficulty. Why should the author who had discovered the potentialities of literacy not take the advantage it offers of allowing him to correct his work? In the cases discussed this would have meant nothing very complicated. In the Hermes/Calypso scene, if the poet did indeed become aware of his mistake at V, 91, he could either have crossed out this verse and gone on as the text now stands or crossed out V, 86, with its reference to sitting, and continued after V, 91 with the more natural flow of the theme as we have it in the *Iliad*. Either case would have involved nothing more than the crossing out of one line. The same applies to the Telemachus/Menelaus scene.

If, then, it is unlikely that the poet wrote down his own poems there remain two further possibilities, involving either verbatim memorization over a long period of time, followed by dictation, or direct dictation from the poet himself.

lapse of memory in a long and complicated narrative, see, for example, Andrew Lang, *Homer and the Epic* (London, 1893), pp. 111-12, where he cites examples from Walter Scott's *Pendennis*; cf. also John A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* (Berkeley, 1921), p. 143, on *Don Quixote* and Thackeray's *Newcomes*; more recently, Douglas Young, "Never Blotted a Line? Formula and Premeditation in Homer and Hesiod," *Arion*, VI, No. 3 (1967), pp. 279-324, compares Virgil and comments on the Pylaemenes example, p. 318.

[17] "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," *T. A. P. A.*, LXXXIV (1953), pp. 124-34; *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 124-57; "Homer and Other Epic Poetry" (above, note 1), pp. 193-7; cf. the first part of his recent article, "Homer as Oral Poet," *H. S. C. P.*, LXXII (1968), pp. 1-14. Further bibliography is summed up by Hainsworth (above, note 1), p. 2, n. 2.

The former has been argued extensively by G. S. Kirk and, in my view, rebutted, notably by Adam Parry.[18] Mark W. Edwards, however, has put forward a suggestion along similar lines, entailing the poet himself composing poems which he was able to reproduce verbatim and which were intended to be recited by verbatim memorizers.[19] This avoids one difficulty of Kirk's theory, namely the difficulty in conceiving just what it was that the verbatim memorizers memorized, but it shares the same large disadvantage of running counter to the best comparative evidence we have.

It also has other disadvantages. There is no need to posit such an unexampled state of affairs merely because the poet shows signs of having mastered the traditional diction to the point where he could manipulate it at will and because there is implied in such poetry a "careful design" (p. 178). If by "careful design" is meant the manipulation of a traditional phrase to create special overtones or effect, as the context of Edwards' remark would seem to suggest, then it must be pointed out that we have few, if any, means of telling whether such design was planned a long way ahead, dwelt upon by the poet, or produced in a flash of inspiration at the moment of composition. And, in any case, even "long term" design is perfectly consonant with normal oral composition as Lord has described it—the skilled singer will continually rehearse his songs, acquiring and shaping the diction and themes, listening, borrowing, creating anew, and above all practising.[20]

Moreover, the fact that there is evidence enough of *memorization* in the texts need not conflict with the view that the texts were composed orally in a manner that parallels the Yugoslav composition, that is in a way that is wholly unlikely to result (in the case of texts of any length) in anything like verbatim repetition.[21] Given that we find in Homer clear indication of

[18] "Have We Homer's *Iliad?*" *Y. C. S.*, XX (1966), pp. 177-216.

[19] *Op. cit.* (above, note 13), p. 178.

[20] Cf. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, chapters 2, 3, and 4.

[21] Edwards, *loc. cit.*, notes the presence in the Homeric poems of catalogues and certain repeated passages of near verbatim or verbatim consistency and claims that this marks an important difference between Homeric and Southslavic composition. But cf. Ugljanin's lists of wedding guests, for example (Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 84-6), or the

verbatim memorization of some sequences, especially of catalogues or lists and of the occasional particularly ornate theme, such working out in advance of the occasional *pièce de résistance* is no different in principle from the painstaking preparation, involving much memorization, of a song by a novice.[22] Nor is it remarkable that an enterprising singer should be continually seeking to expand his repertoire and display his expertise by such means. But this is far from denying the crucial difference between the novice or "memorizer" and the mature oral singer. For the latter depends not upon a rather circumscribed ability to string together large memorized slabs of narrative but upon the *versatility*, in the face of the varied circumstances of performance, that comes through his familiarity with, and mastery of, a formulaic diction and the content and patterns of themes (including some which he is able to repeat verbatim or to "modify" at will).[23] The problem that has been seen in the repeated passages seems to owe much to the rigid view that Parry formulated concerning the nature of "extempore" com-

degree of verbatim repetition in the same singer's theme of the arrival of an imperial messenger at the beginning of the Song of Baghdad, *S. C. H. S.*, II, No. 1, 135-96, No. 2, 114-78, No. 3, 109-83. Lord in rightly stressing the *technique* of composition and its flexibility rather than memorization tends to understate the degree to which some quite long passages are similar. A. Hoekstra (above, note 1), pp. 18-20, also argues that "the fact that we actually find evidence for recitation in Homer himself" tells against the Yugoslav analogy and he, too, leans towards a view which sees "recitation" (= verbatim memorization) as playing a large part in the composition of the poems. He notes as somewhat arbitrary (and I agree) Lord's suggestion in "Homer and Other Epic Poetry" (above, note 1), p. 195, that some of the passages may be due to a scribal technique of simply noting down at a given point that certain lines are to be repeated, on the assumption that the repetition will be word for word. Douglas Young (above, note 16), in his rather excited attempt to discredit the whole "Parryite" thesis, has some interesting comments on memorization in general and the repeated passages in particular (he, too, cites Hoekstra): cf. especially, pp. 295-304, 311-13.

[22] Cf. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, pp. 20-9, 71.

[23] Hainsworth (above, note 1), pp. 1-2, makes the point well when he observes that improvised performances may be rehearsed and many of the lines stereotyped, etc., "but it could never be possible to forecast the improviser's words except in terms of strong probabilities. . . ." It is clear that "improvisation is a skill, and requires a technique."

position.[24] Both Edwards and Hoekstra (above, note 21) have over-reacted to a view that needs modification.

With the rejection of the verbatim memorization hypothesis there remains the alternative solution that the circumstances of oral composition towards which our evidence, the thematic slips, pointed were also those of the dictation of the texts by the poet who composed them. Though this hypothesis, too, is not without its own difficulties these mainly concern wider issues, such as the dating of the texts and the availability of materials and skills necessary for recording in this manner (cf. above, note 17). Such a discussion lies outside the scope of this paper which has been concerned only to relate the evidence of the slips in Homer to the appropriate hypothesis of recording.

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[24] Cf. Parry's description, "About Winged Words," *C.P.*, XXXII (1937), p. 60, quoted by Edwards (above, note 13), p. 119.

PLATO'S PHILOSOPHICAL USES OF THE DREAM METAPHOR.[1]

Plato makes interesting use of dream metaphors at several points in the dialogues.[2] A cursory survey of these instances suggests a summary account of the following sort. The "dreaming" state is a common state of mankind (*Rep.*, 520B-C; cf. *Apol.*, 31A).[3] Indeed, most of what passes for human knowledge

[1] I am much indebted to J. M. E. Moravcsik for many helpful criticisms of an earlier expression of some of the views put forward here.

[2] Some instances of the "dream metaphor" are technically similes (e.g. *Men.*, 85C); but that distinction is not relevant in this context, and it seems best to stick with the former term, broadly understood. In drawing on the figure, Plato uses a variety of expressions, some of which make use of ὕπνος (*νυστάζειν, καθεύδειν*, etc.) rather than ὄναρ; but the intent clearly places them in the same category (see, e.g. *Apol.*, 31A, *Rep.*, 534C-D). Furthermore, not all of Plato's philosophic and dramatic uses of dreams fall within the scope of the "dream metaphor": some are plainly literal (e.g. *Rep.*, 574D, *Phil.*, 36E, 65E), some involve a perfectly explicit similitude (e.g. *Rep.*, 576B), and some appear to be chiefly dramatic devices (e.g. Socrates' reporting one of his own "dreams"; *Tht.*, 201E, *Phil.*, 20B).

[3] As Heraclitus had maintained earlier (B89; cf. B1, B2, B73). For a vigorous defense of the authenticity of B89, together with a few comments on its interpretation, see Gregory Vlastos, "On Heraclitus," *A.J.P.*, LXXVI (1955), p. 347. E. R. Dodds remarks with respect to this fragment that "so far as our fragmentary knowledge goes, the first man who explicitly put the dream in its proper place was Heraclitus, with his observation that in sleep each of us retreats to a world of his own. Not only does this rule out the 'objective' dream, but it seems by implication to deny validity to dream-experience in general, since Heraclitus' rule is 'to follow what we have in common'" (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, pp. 117-18). But this seems to miss an important point, viz. that Heraclitus' concern was to develop a vehicle for comment on the many, and not primarily to analyze dream phenomena. The illusory character of dreams seems already present in Homer (*Od.*, XIX, 547; XX, 90). Heraclitus' contribution was not so much putting "the dream in its proper place" as it was putting men in theirs. Interestingly different interpretations of the same fragments may be seen in G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, p. 189, Charles H. Kahn, "A New Look at Heraclitus," *A.P.Q.*, I (1964), pp. 202-3, and John Mansley Robinson, *An Introduction to*

is really "dream knowledge" (*Pol.*, 277D, 278E; *Tim.*, 52B-C). And, unlike Kant, the many do not rejoice at being roused up from their slumbers (*Apol.*, 31A). Neither are they to be counted blameless for their complacence in the state (*Phdr.*, 277D-E).[4] Yet even though the state is uncertain, disputable, moot (*ἀμφισβητήσιμος*, *Sym.*, 175E), and characteristically (though not inevitably) involves mistaking systematically a semblance of something for that which it resembles (*Rep.*, 476C-D; *Tht.*, 158A-C; cf. *Rep.*, 518C), and leaves its assumptions unexamined (*Rep.*, 533B-C); still its grasp on reality—at least in some contexts—is genuine, not pure delusion (*Rep.*, 533B-C; cf. 510D-E). This grasp, this apprehension of the real is, however, by opinion, not knowledge (*Rep.*, 534C-D).[5] It is unstable, insecure (*Men.*, 98A; cf. 85C). The "dream" is related to the real in the manner of a semblance (*Rep.*, 476C-D), an image (*Soph.*, 266C), model (*Laws*, 969B), or (by inference) a shadow (as in *Rep.*, 515B-C; cf. *Tim.*, 52A-C).

The apposition of these fragments is not intended to suggest that they are all shards of the same pot. They clearly are not. But some of them do fit into patterns whose richness has often been overlooked. Of these, the earliest is that in *Men.*, 85C.

Early Greek Philosophy, p. 95. I should suggest that Plato comes closest to making the Heraclitean point in *Rep.*, 534B-D, *q. v.* (see also *Apol.*, 31A, *Phdr.*, 277D-E, *Pol.*, 277D, *Tim.*, 52B-C). Heraclitus may even have been the inspirational source of Plato's use of the dream figure, as Havelock hints (*Preface to Plato*, p. 190 and p. 191, n. 32). He was certainly influenced by Heraclitus in other ways, as the numerous references to Heraclitus in the dialogues (*Hipp. Maj.*, 289A; *Crat., passim; Sym.*, 187A; *Rep.*, 498A; *Tht., passim*, etc.) and the subsequent testimony of Aristotle (*Met.*, A, 6, 987a31-35) indicate (but see G. B. Kerferd, "Recent Work on Presocratic Philosophy," *A. P. Q.*, II [1965], p. 135, nn. 54, 55 on Kirk's thesis). However, the fact that we find the dream figure in the discourse of the stranger from Elea in both the *Sophist* (266C) and *Politicus* (277D) may indicate its being in common current use.

[4] Which view, again, was shared by Heraclitus (B73). For a Platonic justification of the many's continued culpability, see *Tim.*, 42D.

[5] And has its parallel in the prisoner's outlook in the Cave (*Rep.*, 515B-C), and the *εἰκασία* of the Divided Line (*Rep.*, 511E)—though in some contexts it may be a kind of self-conscious *εἰκασία*, involving not only an oneiric awareness, but a concomitant recognition *that it is* (merely) oneiric.

Referring to those true judgments which Meno's slave boy has personally endorsed during the course of the *anamnesis* demonstration, Socrates comments that "at present these opinions have just been stirred up in him, as in a dream (ὥσπερ ὄναρ). But if he were questioned on these matters repeatedly, and in a variety of ways, you can see that he would end up with as precise an understanding of them as anyone."

E. S. Thompson's commentary on this passage is still the most helpful.[6] The boy's "dream" opinions share the insecure feature of all mere *doxai*.[7] But additional philosophical significance lies in the metaphor's discriminating power within the judgmental realm. In bringing this out, it will be helpful to

[6] "'At present these opinions have just been conjured up in him like a dream': that is, they are still fluid and insecure. Cp. *Symp.* 175E, where Agathon says that his own wisdom, compared with that of Socrates, is φαύλη καὶ ἀμφισβητήσιμος ὥσπερ ὄναρ οὖσα. Similarly the metaphor of ὕπαρ and ὄναρ is used to express the contrast between real knowledge (of Universals) and mere Sense-experience or Opinion: *Rep.* 476D; cp. 533C, 534C, and *Laws* 969B" (*The Meno of Plato*, p. 140). Insofar as other commentators have attempted to extend or improve this account, it seems to me they have been unsuccessful. R. S. Bluck: "That is to say, they are not clear enough to carry conviction, and so are insecure. As Thompson observes . . ." (*Plato's Meno*, p. 312). But the slave boy's behavior would seem to indicate that the strength of his convictions is only remotely connected to their clarity (see, e.g. *Men.*, 84A-C). John Gould: "E. S. Thompson . . . has rightly observed that the opposition of dreaming and waking vision . . . is often used by Plato as a metaphor for that between ἐπιστήμη and δόξα, . . . The reference is of course partly to the instability of dreams and newly acquired opinions, partly to their apparent strangeness" (*The Development of Plato's Ethics*, p. 136). But it is not the "apparent strangeness" of the boy's newly roused opinions that needs emphasis and explanation. It is their apparent familiarity, and it is this to which the theory of *anamnesis* is designed to speak. Jacob Klein's comments, where they do not simply repeat the metaphor, connect the slave boy's apprehension with certain alleged features of "the activity of the *dianoia*" (*A Commentary on Plato's Meno*, pp. 122, 176). I am not sure that I understand Klein here, but as I have indicated above (note 5), it seems best to take the slave boy's mental state as a kind of (self-conscious) εἰκασία (on the opinion side of the Divided Line).

[7] This is reemphasized later in the dialogue by the figure of Daedalus' statues and the tether (98A).

distinguish three varieties of *doxa* (*doxa*-1, -2, -3). Let the first of these consist in those judgments which have no chance of rising to *episteme* status, because they are concerned solely with the sensible world, and hence have no chance of being stabilized ("tethered");[8] e. g. "Theaetetus is sitting." Let *doxa*-2 be *doxa* of such kind that it has a chance of rising to the status of *episteme*, because it is preliminary to an apprehension of a non-sensible, stable object (e. g. a "mathematical"): "That square has equal sides." Finally, let *doxa*-3 be that variety which is directly concerned with (not just preliminary to) a stable, non-sensible object, and hence represents a further step towards *episteme*. It may indeed have met all the objective requirements, though still fall short of meeting the subjective ones (having immunity to the influence of rhetoric and persuasion, resources to render accounts payable on demand, etc.); e. g., "Squares have equal sides."[9]

Now the long standing contrast between ὄναρ and ὕπαρ is fundamental to the meaning of both. And it is from this contrast that the dream metaphor derives much of its power. It can, indeed does, apply here on more than one level. *Doxa*-1 is awake in the ordinary sense, and consciously apprehending sensible particulars as sensible particulars (where these include ordinary shadows, mirror images, and the like, but not dreams).[10] *Doxa*-2

[8] A strict requirement for ἐπιστήμη in Plato's technical sense: *Men.*, 98A; cf. *Euthyph.*, 11B-D, 15E. An opinion must be stable, reliable, always at hand, if it is to qualify for the role of genuine knowledge. Otherwise, opinions are prey to pains, pleasures, and fears (*Rep.*, 413B-C), rhetoric and persuasion (*Phdr.*, 260D ff.; cf. *Gorg.*, 485E ff., *Tim.*, 51E).

[9] Plato's "mathematicals" are of course not the only objects concerning which *episteme* is possible. But they are the most easily approached because they are in themselves the easiest to understand, and the world of sense contains clear instances of them. Not all higher objects have such clear sensible instances. See *Pol.*, 285E-286A; *Rep.*, 521C ff.; *Tim.*, 47A ff., cf. *Phd.*, 75A.

[10] It should not be expected that what I have designated *doxa*-1, -2, -3 will always, or even usually, be referred to by Plato with the term δόξα. For ἐπιστήμη (like "knowledge") has sufficient latitude in ordinary usage to cover all these cases in addition to functioning in its own technical sense. (Compare *Phd.*, 73C-D, 74B, and 76B, for example.) I should not think this point worth dwelling on were it not

is awake in the ordinary sense, and consciously apprehending sensible particulars Formally, but without recognizing the Formal element of this apprehension for what it is, and hence "dreaming unawares," or "asleep" with regard to the Forms (or their conceptual precursors, in pre-*Phaedo* dialogues). *Doxa*-3 is awake in the ordinary sense, and consciously apprehending sensible particulars Formally, at the same time recognizing this Formal apprehension for what it is, and hence "dreaming" with respect to the Forms, but being aware that one is "dreaming" and hence on the way to a "waking" apprehension of them.[11]

Now providing that we reject an "empirical" interpretation of the *anamnesis* demonstration,[12] the slave boy's apprehensions are seen to be somewhere within the range of *doxa*-3. He "possesses" *episteme*, but does not yet "have" it (in the language of the technical distinction Plato introduces in *Tht.*, 197B). Or, he "acquired" it (in the language of *Phd.*, 75D),[13] but

for the fact that some commentators have accused Plato of serious inconsistencies on the basis of his very ordinary—and surely justified—use of common idiom (see, e.g., Norman Gulley, "Plato's Theory of Recollection," *C. Q.*, IV [1954], p. 198—on *Phd.*, 74C; in criticism, H. D. Rankin, "Immediate Cognition of the Forms in the *Phaedo*," *Dialectica*, XII [1958], pp. 81-6).

[11] Finer distinctions are possible here. *Doxa*-3, for example, would cover all but the first and final stages of the eleven-stage "ascent" in *Sym.*, 209E ff. (See J. M. E. Moravcsik, "Reason and Eros in the 'Ascent' Passage of the *Symposium*," mimeographed by the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy, 1961.) On a six-stage scale of person states, in order of increasingly veridical metaphysical apprehension, *doxa*-1 would be preceded by states of (a) dreaming unawares (i.e. dreaming in the most common, ordinary, literal way), and (b) dreaming, with the concomitant awareness that one is dreaming, and hence (typically) on the verge of waking up. *Doxa*-3 would be followed by a state of being "awake" to the Forms in the full sense, and hence having *ἐπιστήμη* of them.

[12] Like that of Sir David Ross (*Plato's Theory of Ideas*, p. 18), which has been most effectively criticized by Gregory Vlastos ("*Anamnesis* in the *Meno*," *Dialogue*, IV [1965], pp. 143-67. See also Norman Gulley, "Plato's Theory of Recollection," *C. Q.*, IV [1954], pp. 196-7 and *Plato's Theory of Knowledge*, pp. 11-12).

[13] I take *εἰληφέναι* of *Phd.*, 75D to be a theoretical equivalent (and precursor) of *κεκτήσθαι* in *Tht.*, 197B; to have acquired some knowledge *is, ceteris paribus,* to possess it.

needs to raise up (*ἀναλαμβάνειν*) this "forgotten" acquisition to have it in a fully stable and articulate sense. It is "dream" knowledge, as contrasted with "waking" knowledge (the latter being secured, stable, always at hand, and concerned with some formal—later, Formal—object: *Tim.*, 52B-C). The boy's opinions are imprecise (not *ἀκριβῶς*: *Men.*, 85C), uncertain (*ἀμφισβητήσιμος*: *Sym.*, 175E), and lack stability (have not yet been "tethered" by *αἰτίας λογισμῷ*: *Men.*, 98A). But, like the "dreaming geometers" of *Rep.*, 533B-C, he "did in some way grasp the real," though like them he can give no account of his assumptions (*ὑποθέσεις*). His state is one of *εἰκασία* on the way to *διάνοια* (to use the language of the Divided Line), of *doxa*-3 on the way to *episteme*, of the "dreamer" on the verge of "waking."

In a different context, Vlastos singles out *Rep.*, 476C-D as central for the interpretation of another variety of philosophically significant dream metaphor. Here, and at *Tim.*, 52B-C, Vlastos maintains, Plato "uses the dream metaphor to liken the state of mind of the philosophically unenlightened to that of the dreamer in only one respect: both are systematically deceived in taking things which are not really (or truly) F for the real (and true) F."[14] In that he is *systematically* deceived, we may add, the "dreamer" is distinguished from one who is apprehending illusions.[15] And he is different from the man with delusions in that it is possible for him to become aware that he *is* "dreaming," while continuing in that state.[16]

[14] Gregory Vlastos, "Degrees of Reality in Plato," in *New Essays on Plato and Aristotle* (ed. Renford Bambrough), p. 9.

[15] Plato makes it clear that he is on to this aspect of the dreamer when he points out that for men in such states, *nothing* is as it appears (*οὐδὲν ὧν φαίνεται εἶναι*, *Tht.*, 158A), that taken "as a whole" they are different (*Tht.*, 158B, C). See also J. L. Austin, *Sense and Sensibilia*, p. 27, and Margaret Macdonald, "Sleeping and Waking," in *Essays in Philosophical Psychology* (ed. Donald F. Gustafson), p. 249. That the "dreamer" is in need of a total reorientation is expressed using a different metaphor in *Rep.*, 518C.

[16] This is what allows us to distinguish *doxa*-2 from *doxa*-3. Waking up to that fact that one is dreaming, while continuing to dream, is a common prelude to waking up to the real, both literally and—in Plato's metaphorical sense—philosophically. A further difference between illusions and delusions is pointed out by Austin: "'an illusion' (in a

But why put the "deception" to which the "dreamer" is subject in terms of mistaking one sort of predication for another (a "true" one for one which is not "true")? Even if we reject the intelligibility of "degrees of existence," there is surely no reason to deny the propriety of speaking of "modes of existence" or (to use Vlastos' own phrase) "*kinds*-of-reality."[17] And putting it in terms of this latter notion seems far less strained than the former when we consider the "causal" or "partaking" relationship which, at least in the middle dialogues, is supposed to obtain between the Formal and sensible realms.[18] The Formal realm is, among other things, ontologically primary; and the sensible world is, among other things, ontologically derivative, secondary. It is not easy to capture this when we put the contrast in a predicative way. Yet this is surely a relevant part of it.[19] The dream world is derivative from the sensible world, as is the sensible world from the realm of Forms.[20] This feature of the dream metaphor tends to be obscured by transforming it into predicative language. The "dreamer" has indeed made a mistake. But it is mistaking the sensible world as having a higher mode of existence than it really has (as the dreamer characteristically does his dream). He has mistaken that kind of reality which lies "between the absolutely, unqualifiedly real and the utterly unreal" (*μεταξύ . . . τοῦ εἰλικρινῶς ὄντος καὶ τοῦ αὖ μηδαμῇ ὄντος—Rep.*, 477A) for the absolutely, unqualifiedly real *from which it is derived.* His awareness of the sensible world is off in appropriateness by one whole order of consciousness (just as is the dreamer's when he thinks himself awake).[21] The fact that the dream world is

perceptual context) does not suggest that something totally unreal is *conjured up* . . . whereas the term 'delusion' *does* suggest something totally unreal, not really there at all" (*op. cit.*, p. 23). On this point see Aristotle, *De Somniis*, 458b27 ff.

[17] Vlastos, "Degrees of Reality," p. 19.

[18] Beginning with *Phd.*, 99D-102A.

[19] Plato specifically refers to the sensibles concerned as *τὰ μετέχοντα* (*Rep.*, 476D).

[20] Though the derivation is of course not to be accounted for in the same way (compare, e.g., *Tim.*, 45E-46A and 51E-52D).

[21] A further melancholy consequence of sticking with predicative expressions is that it becomes awkward with them to discriminate among the various levels of *doxa* and *episteme* distinguished above.

derivative from (secondary to) the sensible world is one of the features of this variety of dream metaphor which distinguishes it from the *Men.*, 85C sort.[22]

Plato, realizing that frequently "it is from metaphor that we can best get hold of something fresh,"[23] and perhaps taking his cue from Heraclitus, recognized in certain familiar features of dream-consciousness a conceptually potent model for man's epistemological situation (his common state and his "waking" potential), and in the dream itself an analog of the sensible world.

Those familiar features of dream-consciousness which Plato seems in various passages to be drawing upon in attempting to provide a model, a conceptual analog, for some subject's epistemological condition are: its insecurity, or instability; its elements of uncertainty or doubtfulness; its unclarity; its poverty with regard to theoretical, critical, or disciplined attention to matters of language, truth, and logic; its occasionally genuine but transmogrified grasp of truth; its characteristically being deceived, systematically, with regard to its own true state; its potential for becoming aware of its own true state; and its potential receptiveness to the intrusion of waking consciousness, either suddenly, or by degrees. The dream itself, in the original sense of that "object" which is apprehended in sleep,[24] serves Plato on occasion as an analog for the sensible world. It is itself not totally unreal, but bears a variety of derivative or secondary relations to "the real" (as does the sensible world to the realm of Forms).

Although it seems clear that the dream figure is more rich and complex than has generally been recognized, it would be a

[22] The relatedness of the dream and the real also figure (in different ways) in the dream metaphors at *Soph.*, 266C and *Laws*, 969B, though the matter of systematic deception involved in *Rep.*, 476C-D is absent. The dream metaphors in *Tim.*, 52B-C seem to combine elements of both varieties: the insecurity and uncertainty of the *Meno*, 85C kind, and the semblance-reality relation underlying the *Rep.*, 476 C-D sort (though without its systematic deception feature). And (just to complete the index), the "sleepers" of *Phdr.*, 277D-E are probably akin to those in *Apol.*, 31A, the philosophically unenlightened.

[23] As Aristotle put it in *Rhet.*, 1410b.

[24] See E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 105.

mistake to try to read all of this complexity into any single instance of its use. Plato's points in using it are different in different cases, and they are limited. But they do not seem to be quite as limited as (for example) Thompson, in the case of *Men.*, 85C, or Vlastos, in the case of *Rep.*, 476C-D, has supposed.

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TALTHYBIUS IN THE *TROJAN WOMEN*.

In the many discussions of the structure and meaning of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the character and function of the herald Talthybius are mentioned only occasionally, usually in passing. Yet he is a minor character whose role and personality give us new insight into the whole tragedy. Euripides has used him as a structural device, not merely for dramatic convenience but because the herald here represents what little order and civilization is left in the midst of disaster, grief, and ruin.

The theatrical effectiveness of the *Trojan Women* is undeniable, but its construction has been the subject of some scholarly debate. Wilamowitz and others criticized the play as a loosely joined series of scenes.[1] In reply scholars have admitted that the tragedy does not have Aristotelian unity,[2] but insist that the incidents "have complete dramatic relevance and together form a single and clear emotional pattern."[3] In addition, Webster saw the play as symmetrically composed: between the kommatic parodos and the final kommos two scenes are elaborated, that of Cassandra, before and after which Polyxene's fate is considered, and that of Helen, before and after which Astyanax is the subject.[4] Friedrich saw a structural pattern in which the announcement of the fate of Astyanax is the axis,[5] and the Andromache-scene is the pathetic mid-point of the drama,[6] the center of a triptych of scenes: Cassandra-Andromache-Helen,

[1] E. g. *Griechische Tragödien* übersetzt von Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1906), III, p. 263; Alfred and Maurice Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque* (2nd ed., Paris, 1899), III, p. 300; Max Pohlenz, *Die griechische Tragödie* (Göttingen, 1954), p. 366.

[2] H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (London, 1939; Anchor ed. 1954), p. 221; G. M. A. Grube, *The Drama of Euripides* (London, 1941), p. 80; T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature 530-400 B.C.* (Oxford, 1939), p. 155. I wish to thank Prof. Webster for his helpful criticism of this paper.

[3] Grube, p. 81; see also pp. 282 f. Cf. Kitto, pp. 219-25.

[4] Webster, p. 159. The prologue stands outside the pattern.

[5] Wolf H. Friedrich, *Euripides und Diphilos* (Munich, 1953), p. 74.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

with links backward to the first arrival of Talthybius (235 ff.) and forward to the dirge for Astyanax (1118 ff.).[7]

The two most recent (1967) considerations of the structure of the play, Webster's and Conacher's, represent the two approaches to this problem: the technical and the philosophic. Webster essentially reiterates his earlier analysis, but now specifically mentions Talthybius in the pattern: "(a) Talthybios with misunderstood news of Polyxene, (b) *Kassandra* (a1) Andromache with news of Polyxene's death, (c) Talthybios with orders for Astyanax' death, (b1) *Helen*, (c1) Talthybios with Astyanax' body."[8] Conacher finds a "rhythm which informs the structure of the play," for "in default of real action on the part of Hecuba there appears . . . a curious intermittent hope which punctuates the sufferings," but is again and again stamped out.[9] Most often Talthybius' announcements extinguish these gleams of hope, as Conacher's analysis reveals.[10] These interpretations imply Talthybius' importance,[11] but do not define it.

The thematic symmetry observed by Webster is not only reinforced by Talthybius, but would be static and artificial without his human agency. It is because of his character, his kind-hearted euphemism (264-70),[12] that Polyxene's death figures twice in the drama, before and after the Cassandra-scene. Again, his sympathetic character makes the symmetrical use of the Astyanax motif, before and after the Helen-scene, emotionally convincing. The Greek herald's pity for the Trojan prince (709-19, 732-6, 782-9) gives his return with the body (1123 ff.) a human as well as a structural motivation. Talthy-

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[8] T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides* (London, 1967), p. 283.

[9] D. J. Conacher, *Euripidean Drama* (Toronto and London, 1967), p. 139.

[10] Conacher, pp. 139-44.

[11] See also Friedrich, pp. 73-4; L. Parmentier, introduction to the Budé edition (Paris, 1925), pp. 10-11. Kitto describes the herald as "coming in like a series of telegrams" (p. 220), but this does not figure in his structural analysis. Hans Strohm (*Euripides*, [Munich, 1957]), following Friedrich, speaks of "die Rolle des Herolds Talthybios, dessen viermaliges Auftreten das Stück äusserlich gliedert" (p. 117).

[12] The text used is that of Gilbert Murray (Oxford, 1913).

bius is not absolutely tied to the thematic symmetry, since he does not himself bring up the Polyxene theme the second time,[13] however, and his appearances in the play do not form a regular pattern, since he does not figure in the Helen-scene.

The rhythm of rising and falling hopes analyzed by Conacher clarifies the emotional structure of the tragedy, helps explain how "the power of this play increases steadily until it is finished; its closing lines leave us with a sense of completeness . . . ."[14] But for the audience in the theater, this progression must be seen more concretely. Talthybius' repeated entrances accomplish this necessary reinforcement. He not only quenches hopes with words, his departures effect an increasing psychological and physical desolation on the stage as he leads off Cassandra, Astyanax, and finally Hecuba and all the women.[15] But again, in the Helen-scene Euripides does not use him: Hecuba's hope for vengeance is quenched by Menelaus.[16]

Talthybius helps us to see that in the composition of the *Trojan Women* the rising and falling pattern of emotional development is complemented by a thematic symmetry. Two characters, Hecuba and Talthybius, one continually present, the other coming and going throughout the play, forge the incidents of the drama together. Yet the herald also, because his appearances are slightly irregular in rhythm, contributes to the feeling of disjointedness we have about this play. The elaborated scenes remain distinct in our minds. All the scholarly debate and the differing conclusions[17] should make us realize that the tragedy has disunity as well as unity. The subject of the *Trojan Women* suggests that Euripides has deliberately re-

[13] Though Hecuba mentions Talthybius by name (625).

[14] Conacher, p. 138.

[15] I am indebted to my student at Vassar College, Elizabeth Watkins, for this observation. Her paper, "Heralds of Gods and Men," has influenced and stimulated my thinking about Talthybius.

[16] As Strohm (p. 116, n. 3) notes, quoting Dietrich Ebener ("Die Hel.-Szene der Tro.," *Wiss. Ztschr. der Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg,* (III [1954]): ". . . Menelaos selbst an die Stelle des 'Abholers' tritt . . ." (715).

[17] Is the announcement of the fate of Astyanax the high point (Friedrich, p. 74), or his burial (Grube, p. 282; Louise M. Mead, "*The Troades* of Euripides," *G. & R.*, 1939, p. 107)? Conacher's 'rhythm' ends with the Helen-scene (p. 144).

produced the episodic disorder of the aftermath of war to a noticeable but not inartistic degree.

Since Euripides gave to the Greek herald such a considerable structural function in the play, he also had a chance to suggest his character. Talthybius is not a colorless messenger, and opinions of his character differ considerably. Most critics find him a sympathetic person, and credit him with tact, compassion, kindness, and humanity.[18] Particularly when he must announce to Andromache and Hecuba the sentence of death on Astyanax. (709 ff.), Talthybius reveals his distaste for the cruel orders he must carry out and his pity for the victims. As Grube well notes, "it is he who breaks into anapaests, and thus in a sense starts the lamentation which is taken up by Hecuba."[19] In these lines also (782-9) he analyzes himself: *τὰ δὲ τοιάδε χρὴ / κηρυκεύειν, ὅστις ἄνοικτος / καὶ ἀναιδείᾳ τῆς ἡμετέρας / γνώμης μᾶλλον φίλος ἐστίν* (786-9).

With this clear evidence of Talthybius' humane feelings, Conacher's verdict seems irreconciliable:

> Talthybius is a harsh, sinister figure in the *Troades*, very different from the sympathetic Talthybius of the *Hecuba*; here he is used to represent the impersonal cruelty of the Achaeans; though personally guiltless of the deeds and instructions he relates, we cannot but sympathize with Cassandra's scornful comment on the type he represents.[20]

The other hostile views of Talthybius' character also are based on his apparent stupidity in the Cassandra-scene.[21] His question: *οὐ γὰρ μέγ' αὐτῇ βασιλικῶν λέκτρων τυχεῖν* (259), however, is best viewed as part of his attempt in this whole conversation to speak euphemistically, and Rheby's patronizing sarcasm: "Talthybius, poor simpleton, thinks it is a great honour for the girl . . ."[22] is overstated and distorting. Talthybius' atti-

[18] Webster (1967), p. 177; Gennaro Perrotta, "Le Troiane di Euripide," *Dioniso*, 1952, pp. 240, 245; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Male Characters of Euripides* (Wellington, 1952), p. 107.

[19] Grube, p. 291; see also Eric A. Havelock, "Watching the *Trojan Women*" in *Euripides* (Twentieth Century Views, ed. Erich Segal [Englewood Cliffs], 1968), p. 124.

[20] Conacher, p. 144.

[21] 'Rheby,' "The Daughters of Troy," *G. & R.*, 1955, p. 20; Gilbert Murray, *Euripides and his Age* (paper ed., Oxford, 1965), p. 66.

[22] 'Rheby,' p. 20.

tude (408-10, 417-20) toward Cassandra's ill-omened words about the Greeks is actually far less hostile than it might have been,[23] and indeed failure to understand Cassandra is traditional.[24] Talthybius' remark that he, a poor man, would never have anything to do with such a woman (415-16) is nearly humorous,[25] but as Friedrich perceptively notes, this sudden, brief glimpse of the everyday world helps us to feel more strongly "die Atmosphäre grossen Schicksals."[26] Together with Cassandra's attack: *ἦ δεινὸς ὁ λάτρις . τί ποτ' ἔχουσι, τοὔνομα / κήρυκες, ἐν ἀπέχθημα πάγκοινον βροτοῖς, / οἱ περὶ τυράννους καὶ πόλεις ὑπηρέται* (424-6), we should remember that Hecuba addresses Talthybius as *ὦ φίλος* (267) and that Andromache appreciates his courtesy (718).[27]

In the end we must agree with Friedrich's description of Talthybius: "der widerstrebend gehorchende gutmütig beschränkte Herold,"[28] and overlook neither his human sympathy for others nor his human concern for himself (304-5, 408-10) and his painful preaching of the laws of necessity (726 ff., 1284-6; also 302-3). Euripides has created this believable person with some depth to him by means of very few words and actions. The

[23] See Grube, p. 287.

[24] Hecuba also fails to understand Cassandra—see Havelock, p. 119.

[25] Grube, p. 287; Perrotta, p. 243; Friedrich, p. 73; Jean-Paul Sartre, "Why the *Trojan Women*?" in *Euripides* (Twentieth Century Views, Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 129.

[26] Friedrich, p. 73; cf. Sartre, p. 129.

[27] It has not been noticed that Cassandra's flash of anger is a response to Talthybius' words to Hecuba, her mother, perhaps more than to his remarks to her. Talthybius has just said to Hecuba: *σώφρονος δ' ἔσῃ λάτρις / γυναικός* (422-3), and it is this word which Cassandra throws back at him: *ἦ δεινὸς ὁ λάτρις*. The whole of her brief "tirade" rings the changes on the *names* of heralds (note also *κῆρ-υξ*, the possible pun suggested in Murray's apparatus), and is much more of a semantic quibble than a wholesale indictment of the race of heralds. (Friedrich, p. 73, rejects these lines as out of character for Cassandra, but this seems an unnecessarily violent solution of the difficulty.) The playing with the word *latris* here helps explain the use of the word to describe Talthybius by Hecuba in 707, where it has been used as grounds for substituting an *Ἄγγελος* for Talthybius from 709 on. The majority of scholars, however, read Talthybius throughout.

[28] Friedrich, p. 69; cf. Wilamowitz (*op. cit.*, p. 270): "ein gutmütiger Mensch, aber gehorsamer Diener."

fulness of Talthybius' character is perhaps most strikingly seen when he returns to Hecuba with the body of Astyanax. He has wept for Andromache (1130-1), and he has stopped to wash the corpse of Astyanax (1150-2) and goes now to dig his grave (1153), but his eagerness to go home is equally plain. He has done these things: *ὡς σύντομ' ἡμῖν τἀπ' ἐμοῦ τε κἀπὸ σοῦ / ἐς ἓν ξυνελθόντ' οἶκαδ' ὁρμήσῃ πλάτην* (1154-5). His last appearance in the play similarly reveals both his sympathy and courtesy (*ὦ γεραιὰ δυστυχεστάτη γύναι*, 1269) and his joy at going home: *στελλώμεθ' οἶκαδ' ἄσμενοι Τροίας ἄπο* (1264). In this last scene he prevents Hecuba's attempted suicide by fire (1284-6), just as in the first scene he had tried to stop what he thought was a similar action of the Trojan women (299-302).

Why has Euripides so consistently stressed Talthybius' obedience to orders, though his feelings rebel against them?[29] An audience sympathizes with the Trojan women more than he does, and does not need him to cue its response. He is not important enough as an individual for this internal conflict to be emphasized for his sake. Talthybius' sympathy would in fact be less meaningful, less important, if he were not the obedient herald of the Greeks.[30] Cassandra's remarks about heralds (424-6) should make us think seriously about what they are, what they stand for in general—not just what Talthybius is like or what his announcements are. The order the herald represents is here deformed and stupid (764, 1158), but there is no other. Euripides' answer to Cassandra is suggested by the character of Talthybius: even this order is better than none, for a herald is at least a fellow man.

Since Talthybius has not usually received much attention

[29] Wilamowitz (*op. cit.*, pp. 270-1) offered a political explanation: "Euripides hat die Herolde als gemeine Bedientenseelen mit einem seltsamen Hasse verfolgt, um in ihnen die Subalternbeamten oft unfreien Standes zu treffen, die in der athenischen Demokratie nur zu oft statt der Unerfahrenheit jährlich wechselnder Losbeamten die Geschäfte faktisch fuhrten." This idea is not very convincing, and does not seem to have met with general acceptance.

[30] Talthybius is a more developed, prominent character than other "good slaves of bad masters," e. g. Hephaestus in the *Prometheus* and Lyssa in the *Heracles*. Talthybius' sympathy is more significant in the action of the *Trojan Women* than theirs is in those plays.

from scholars, it is not surprising that he does not figure in any interpretation of the play. The standard view has been that the *Trojan Women* is an anti-war document, a demonstration of the truth of Poseidon's final words in the prologue: *μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις, / ναούς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων, / ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον* (95-7). The audience knows that the Greeks, apparently victorious, are themselves doomed to destruction.[31] Grube and Norwood both note how the many indications of the Greeks' eagerness to set sail remind us of their destined sufferings.[32] Conacher well stresses, however, that despite our assurance of the eventual punishment of the Greeks, "it is their personal offence against Athena, not their heinous atrocities against the Trojans, which is to bring divine punishment. Closely viewed, there is little justice in this play or in its prologue."[33] Sartre has recently expressed this anti-war interpretation most profoundly:

> We know today what war means; an atomic war will leave neither victors nor vanquished. And that is precisely what the play demonstrates. The Greeks have destroyed Troy, but they shall not enjoy any of the spoils of this victory, since the vengeance of the gods will destroy them all.[34]

But after Euripides has shown us the triumph of Helen,[35] I do not think that we can say that the play *demonstrates* this profound truth about the nature of war. Rather that truth is its basic assumption. Against this background of the futility of war, Euripides has something else to say.

Both Conacher and Havelock feel that what Hecuba learns in the course of the play constitutes its theme. Conacher notes

[31] See e.g. Perrotta, p. 248; Anton Maria Scarcella, "Letture Euripidee: *Le Troadi*," *Dioniso*, 1959, p. 60.

[32] Grube, pp. 126, 284; Gilbert Norwood, *Greek Tragedy* (3rd ed., London, 1942), pp. 244-5.

[33] Conacher, p. 136. In addition, we should realize (as no critic seems to have done) that as far as the Trojan women, the subject of this play, are concerned, this foretold shipwreck of the Greeks is no compensation or ethical satisfaction. Having embarked with their Greek masters, they, the last survivors of Troy, will be destroyed with them.

[34] Sartre, p. 130.

[35] The audience, trained on the *Odyssey*, knows that she and Menelaus survive—see Havelock, p. 126.

the prologue's emphasis upon the power and fickleness of the gods[36] and concludes:

> Viewed in this light, the play's progression might be regarded as the gradual recognition, on the part of Hecuba and her women, of the truth about the gods which the prologue has already expressed, by satiric implication, to the audience.[37]

Havelock sees Hecuba as "a conventional woman"[38] who, after the outcome of her debate with Helen, "looks at last into the heart of things and announces to the chorus that she has indeed looked there and found—*nothing.*"[39] Conacher, however, does not see the end of the play as mere desolation. Hecuba leads her women in the invocation of the soil of Troy and its dead (1302-3) and seems to recognize that "Trojan greatness and future fame depend on this utter ruin which the gods have sent."[40] Yet this last scene is full of contradictions which should not be overlooked. Hecuba rejects the gods (1240-2, 1280-1) and takes comfort from fame (1242-5), but she and the chorus later exclaim at the namelessness of Troy as they watch its destruction (1278, 1319, 1322). Hecuba is both strong in her lamentation and her leadership and hysterical in her attempted suicide.[41] The chorus' last words are a fair thematic summary: *ἰὼ τάλαινα πόλις· ὅμως δὲ πρόφερε πόδα σὸν ἐπὶ πλάτας Ἀχαιῶν* (1331-2). Troy is lamented; the future is faced. But there is no assurance that true knowledge of the gods and of fame supports or enlightens the women as they go.

Is the message of the *Trojan Women* then that nullity which Havelock describes? "It is as though the world into which the

[36] Conacher, p. 137.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[38] Havelock, p. 121.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[40] Conacher, p. 145. The passage in question is 1242-5. Murray also held this view: "But beyond that first stage there is a glimpse of another scale of values, in which there is something—call it a glimpse or splendour, or, for lack of a better name, beauty—something at any rate which is the material for eternal song, in playing one's part to the last word and enduring what fate sends" (*Greek Studies* [Oxford, 1946], pp. 147-8). Cf. Mead, pp. 108-9.

[41] Though Mead attempts to excuse this (p. 108).

victors and vanquished have survived has grown tired, and in the general lassitude the meanings expressed in our normal common humanity have been exhausted." [42] The forcible breaking of human relationships is indeed shown again and again in the play,[43] and the *ἐρημία* stressed in the prologue (15, 26, 97) is seen carried out in the case of Hecuba in the course of the play.[44] The difficulties of communication in this disordered world are shown clearly in the first dialogue between Hecuba and Talthybius (235 ff.) in which the awkward switches of topic (259-60, 270-1, 293-4) betray not the author's ineptitude but Hecuba's distraction.[45] Yet Talthybius' sympathetic attempt to spare Hecuba's feelings is equally apparent in the scene. Here and throughout the play, his humane character, in the role of herald, the established means of communication between victors and vanquished, argues against Havelock's nihilistic interpretation.[46] From the very beginning of the play where we see the strange alliance of Poseidon and Athena formed: *φέρω δε σοὶ / κοινοὺς ἐμαυτῇ τ' ἐς μέσον λόγους, ἄναξ* (53-4). . . *κοινώσῃ λόγους / καὶ συνεθελήσεις ἂν ἐγὼ πρᾶξαι θέλω*; (61-2), the idea of community is repeatedly brought up.[47] The prominence of Talthybius the herald stresses it, and each time he breaks a tie his sympathy creates a new one, however tenuous. But Euripides emphasizes not only his sympathy but the order he represents. Hecuba and her women have no place in society, since the fall of their own city, except what the Greeks give them. Talthybius enters first to give them their new identity (235 ff.) and his last words about Hecuba refer to the same crucial fact: *Ὀδυσσέως δὲ χρὴ / ἐς χεῖρα δοῦναι τήνδε καὶ πέμπειν γέρας* (1285-6). This play is neither a *Hecuba* nor an *Andromache* nor a *Helen*, but a *Trojan Women*: the tragedy of a short-lived community of women, in existence only from the fall of Troy until the Greek

[42] Havelock, p. 125.

[43] As Mead (p. 108) also notes.

[44] Strohm, p. 34.

[45] Cf. Havelock, p. 118.

[46] Havelock uses Talthybius' humanity to argue the insufficiency of the view of the *Trojan Women* as a protest against man's inhumanity to man; in fact it tells against his own theory as well.

[47] Note e. g. Hecuba's attempt to create one between herself and Menelaus: *ἐγώ νιν οἶδα, καὶ σύ, χοἱ πεπονθότες* (894).

departure, in order to support each other and their queen through this worst of agonies.[48] Euripides condemns both gods and war, but though the play may be completely depressing, it is not completely negative. When we realize that "the meanings expressed in our normal common humanity" have not in fact been exhausted, that Talthybius and the Trojan women keep them alive throughout the play, we can appreciate the complexity of Euripides' statement about war in the *Trojan Women*.

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[48] See e. g.: *ἐς ταὐτὸν ἥκεις συμφορᾶς θρηνοῦσα δὲ / τὸ σὸν διδάσκεις μ' ἔνθα πημάτων κυρῶ* (684-5, Chorus to Hecuba).

REVIEWS.

ROBERT K. SHERK. Roman Documents from the Greek East. Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. Pp. xii + 396. $17.50. A *comparatio numerorum* for all standard epigraphic reference works is available from the author on request.

In 1888 Paul Viereck produced his important collection of all extant *senatus consulta, epistulae,* and *foedera* on stone down to Tiberius. With his publication of the documents he conjoined a study of their Greek, and he also analyzed by way of comparison the *Res Gestae* and parallel documents in Greek literary sources. Viereck's entire study ran to 122 large pages, including the texts of 32 documents. R. K. Sherk has now given us a modern Viereck in his *Roman Documents from the Greek East.* His work testifies eloquently to the tremendous advances in the study of ancient history since Viereck's publication: Sherk's book runs to just under 400 pages, including the texts of 78 documents (*senatus consulta* and *epistulae*), and there is scarcely a wasted word in his concise presentation. As any good scholarly work should do, Sherk's not only signals and exemplifies the great progress hitherto accomplished but also implies how much more still remains to be done. For serious students of the Roman East his book will be indispensable.

The volume has been beautifully printed. There are excellent indexes to the texts. Each document is preceded by a full bibliography, and there is also a general bibliography at the end. Sherk is an excellent bibliographer, and weaknesses in this area are doubtless due to the inevitably long and arduous business of seeing the work through the press. Although on p. 282 there is a reference to a book published in 1968, it would seem that the bulk of Sherk's work was completed sometime earlier; and books like Deininger's *Provinziallandtage* (1965) appear only occasionally in his commentaries and are absent altogether from the general bibliography. Louis Robert's *Hellenica* is known only down to Volume 12: the important review of *M. A. M. A.* VIII which constituted Volume 13 appeared in 1965. See below under No. 65 for another omission.

Sherk's commentaries are terse and cautious. He has given careful attention to the texts of his inscriptions through the use of squeezes and photographs, and he has had access to notes left by Viereck for a new edition of his work of 1888. The magnitude of the task confronting Sherk makes it quite comprehensible that he should not have attempted discussions of parallel documents in literary sources or of the *Res Gestae.* In these matters, which cannot be ignored, Viereck will continue to be useful. Similarly in points of orthography and syntax: on p. 13, n. 25 Sherk explicitly states that he will not attempt to analyze the orthography and syntax of his documents. He rightly praises Viereck, whose observations are still invaluable. However, in his general introductions to both the decrees

and the letters, Sherk does offer helpful remarks on the Greek and its relation (or lack of it) to putative Latin originals. He relies heavily on Viereck here, especially in the list of Greek equivalents of Latin phrases in *senatus consulta*. In his register (p. 206) of barbarisms in the Greek of the Seleucus inscription of Octavian (No. 58) he might well have added the expression ᾧ ἔλασσον in line 65 for *quominus*, a barbarism found in other texts too (cf. Roussel, *Syria*, XV [1934], p. 37). On p. 208, when Sherk refers to a dative absolute for a Latin ablative, he might have noted that this is actually a common feature of Roman documentary Greek: cf. Viereck, p. 87; J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Épig.*, 1966, no. 239.

Of newly discovered inscriptions which, had they been published, Sherk would certainly have incorporated into his book, a clearly important dossier of Mithridatic texts from Aphrodisias must be singled out. K. Erim has announced their gradual discovery in his annual reports on the Aphrodisias excavations to the December meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America; and in *A. J. A.*, LXXIII (1969), p. 223 he refers to a "letter of Republican date addressed to the Aphrodisians (probably relating to the Mithridatic wars) and obviously recut on stone in Imperial times."

Since Sherk's book is destined to be widely consulted, I turn now to detailed discussion of certain of his texts. SENATUS CONSULTA. **No. 7** (Epist. M. Aemilii et SC de Magnetum et Prienensium litibus): The T. Μάλλιος in this inscription is taken by L. R. Taylor in her *Voting Districts*, p. 230, to be a T. Manlius, or possibly the T. Manius in II Maccabees 11, 34. **No. 12** (SC de agro Pergameno): Sherk's readings, first published in *G. R. B. S.*, VII (1966), pp. 361 ff., are a great advance on those of Passerini and fully satisfy the need, often expressed by scholars, for a reliable text. I speak of Sherk's achievement with particular confidence because C. P. Jones and I devoted a whole day in Izmir to examining the fragments there in different lights on 30 July, 1966. Here, for the record, are a few trifling corrections: line 5, ἐ]ν ἀντιλογίᾳ, not ἐ]ν ἀντιλογίᾳ (printed correctly in *G. R. B. S.*); line 6, τούτω]ν τῶν, not τούτων] τῶν; line 24, Μ]ενηνίᾳ, not Με]νηνίᾳ; line 32, Λ]εύκιος, not]Λεύκιος. For the precious names in the consilium, Sherk gives references to Taylor and Broughton as appropriate, but on C. Herennius and M. Serrius (*sic*) we have no guidance. We should at least be told that Σέρριος is either a Sergius (so Broughton in *M. R. R.*, II, p. 496) or a Serius (so Taylor, *Voting Districts*, p. 173). The latter is correct, it seems: cf. Σέρριος = Serius for the consul of A. D. 132 in a papyrus from the Cave of the Letters (*Eretz-Israel*, VIII [1967], p. 50 [Hebrew section]) and the same spelling in Greek for the consul of the same name in A. D. 156 (*I. G. R.*, III, 705). There is a Σέρριος in Jos., *A. J.*, XIV, 220, probably also a Serius. In other words, Serii, known chiefly for the consuls of the second century A. D., can be seen twice as senators under the Republic. Let us not deny them this distinction. **No. 15** (SC de collegiis artificum Bacchiorum): The [S]ca[u]rus whose gentilicium has to be restored in line 4 is probably an Aemilius, as Sherk gives it; but the possibility of an Aurelius deserves a mention (cf. E. Badian, *Historia*, XII [1963]. p. 131).

No. 16 (SC de Astypalaeensibus): Although Sherk notes that Tibiletti thought that line 12 refers to two laws (*τὸν νόμον [τόν τε] Ῥόβριον καὶ τὸν Ἀκίλιον*), he omits to mention the relevance of this point to the vexed question of the chronology of the legislation of C. Gracchus. **No. 17** (SC de Tabenis): Sherk repeats here his proposals made in *G. R. B. S.*, VI (1965), pp. 295 ff. His restorations to the effect that Sulla granted Tabae the control of neighboring villages or districts are supported on p. 103 by reference to lines 12-13 of the decree, whereby it appears, in Sherk's words, "that Tabae had been given permission to fortify some (nearby) place called Thyessos. One may assume that, despite the advantageous position Tabae occupied in the deep mountainous retreat of central Caria, it still felt the need of additional fortifications outside its immediate area." Thyessos can, in fact, be identified with the Pisidian town mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium under Θυεσσός, for the plain of Tabae lay partly in Pisidia. Cf. L. Robert, *La Carie*, II, p. 102. Sherk's account does not properly evoke the appearance of the great, flat plain of Tabae. **No. 18** (SC de Stratonicensibus): On p. 110, in his commentary on this inscription, in which Sulla is still dictator, Sherk gives as dates for the dictatorship 82-79 B. C. But the old canonical date for Sulla's abdication has been obliterated with the help of Cic., *pro Rosc. Amer.*, 139 and the document from Thasos which is No. 20 in Sherk's collection (where Sulla appears in 80 B. C. without the title of dictator). Cf. E. Badian, *Historia*, XI (1962), pp. 230-1 and G. V. Sumner, *J. R. S.*, LIV (1964), p. 45, n. 44. It seems that Sulla resigned in 80 or even (according to Badian) at the end of 81. This strengthens still more the case for dating the SC de Stratonicensibus, as Sherk does, to 81. **No. 20** (Epist. Sullae cum SC de Thasiis): See the foregoing comment on No. 18. **No. 21** (Epist. Dolabellae): In his commentary Sherk presents the legate of the Macedonian governor in this text as Q. Braetius Sura, a virtual transliteration of the gentilicium from the Greek. His name was, perhaps, Q. Bruttius Sura (cf. App., *Mithr.*, 29, where the Greek transliteration yields this). **No. 23** (SC de Oropiis): The C. Annaeus C. f. Clu. who appears as senator no. 7 in the consilium of this document has been identified as C. Annaeus Brocchus (cf. Cic., *in Verr.*, II, 3, 93): R. Syme, *Historia*, XIII (1964), p. 110. **No. 28** (Epist. M. Antonii ad Plarasenses et Aphrodisienses et SC): L. Robert, in his discussion of this splendid text (*Ant. Class.*, XXXV [1966], p. 419), presented powerful and (to my mind) conclusive arguments for a date of 39 B. C. Although Sherk lists Robert's article in his bibliography for the inscription, he does not take account of Robert's views and stresses that precision is impossible beyond 39-35 B. C. Further, there is no discussion of the union of Plarasa and Aphrodisias, for which this document and coins are the clear evidence. (K. Erim has announced the discovery of a new inscription from Aphrodisias also mentioning the two cities.) In his commentary on Antony's letter and the SC Sherk compares another Aphrodisian text which he thinks may refer to the invasion of the Parthians in 40 B. C. The text is fragmentary and was published by Holleaux and Paris in *B. C. H.*, IX (1885), p. 75, no. 5, improved by L. Robert in *Études Anatoli-*

ennes (1937), pp. 312-14. I should rather date this inscription to the time of the Mithridatic Wars on the basis of similarities in language to other documents of that time: lines 1-2, [ἐν τοῖς] / ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς; lines 5-6, [πρεσ] / βεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς ἡγουμένους εἰς Ῥώμ[ην]; line 7, ἐν τοῖς παντοδαποῖς κινδύνοις. The triumviral date for the text was assigned in the original publication on the basis of the expression οἱ ἡγούμενοι. But cf. L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (1937), p. 313, n. 1: ἡγούμενοι does not apply specially to triumvirs. It refers (Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 51) to Roman magistrates, Roman authorities. Cf. also Robert, *Rev. de Philol.*, XLI (1967), p. 49.

EPISTULAE. **No. 47** (Epist. Q. Mucii Scaevolae): In connection with the games instituted in honor of the proconsul Scaevola, cos. 95 B. C., we should have some reference to the attested cult established by οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη (*I. G. R.*, IV, 188; cf. line 29 of Sherk's text δήμων τε καὶ ἐ[θνῶν]). **No. 52** (Epist. magistratus Romani ad Milesios aliosque): This perplexing text, which exists in fragments of two copies (from Priene and Miletus), is normally dated to the period 56-50 B. C. A Roman magistrate instructs a group of cities, which are clearly the centers of conventus districts in Asia, to effect widespread publication of his letter. Of the list of centers given by the elder Pliny, all are named except the three in Phrygia, which are known to have been attached to Cilicia in the years 56-50. It must be noted, however, that three cities not named in Pliny's list also appear in the letter as centers (Miletus, Tralles, Mylasa); but it has to be assumed that they were centers at the time of the letter. Someone is mentioned in the document as meeting a person called Cicero, and it is natural to conjecture that this is the great man himself, going or coming from Cilicia. This, the *communis opinio*, is accepted by Sherk; it has never seemed to me altogether satisfactory. The letter mentions three people in need of identification: the author himself, the person who met Cicero, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τειμήν. Only the Apamea and Cicero. The big Miletus fragment has in its second line ἐπ' ἀκυρώσει ὧ[ν] ἀνείλ[ηφε]. What does this refer to? Furthermore, the letter refers to τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων; and if this document belongs to the fifties, it becomes the earliest datable reference to the κοινόν so designated (the next is triumviral, No. 57). The organization had been in some form of existence well before, and a reference in the late fifties is certainly not impossible. But, in view of the text's other difficulties, I wonder whether one ought not to consider a date in the early twenties, the time at which Cicero's son, cos. 30 B. C., was proconsul of Asia. The author of the letter will then become Octavian himself, and the ἀκύρωσις will be the general cancellation of debts after Actium (Dio Prus., *Or.*, 31, 66). The author of the letter says that he is amazed (τεθαύμακα) that the people of Asia have put up with the shamelessness of certain persons: why not the tyrannicides, then Antony, and the huge requisitions? The author also explains why he is writing in Greek: a governor would hardly say this, but Octavian might (cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 89, 1 on Augustus' Greek). Finally, the expression θαυμάζω . . . is praeternaturally rare in such documents, but there is one

precise parallel, the letter of Augustus to the Cnidians (No. 67, line 28). Cf. Augustus' epistolary remark to Antony, quoted in Suet., *Aug.*, 7, 1, *ipse nihil amplius quam mirari se rescribit. . . .* If a date *ca.* 29 B. C. be admissible for this inscription, it would appear (nor is it unlikely) that Antony had turned over the Phrygian conventus centers to Amyntas, along with Pamphylia, and that they reverted once again to Asia on Amyntas' death in 25 B. C. R. Syme has suggested the possibility that Antony turned over Philomelium to Amyntas: *Anatolian Studies Presented to Buckler* (1939), p. 326, n. 3. **No. 57** (Epist. M. Antonii ad Koinon Asiae): Add to Sherk's bibliography of the inscription, J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1965), p. 16. **No. 58** (Epist. Octaviani de Seleuco Nauarcha): Add now to the bibliography, F. Millar, *C. R.*, XVIII (1968), pp. 263-4. **No. 61** (the notorious Cumae inscription): In his commentary Sherk construes ἑκάστης with ἐπαρχείας in line 4; but in a footnote he follows Oliver (*G. R. B. S.*, IV [1963], pp. 117-18) in insisting that ἑκάστης should be understood with [π]όλεως which precedes it and that the absence of the definite article with ἐπαρχείας tells against its meaning *provincia* (as it normally would). The case for taking ἑκάστης with [π]όλεως is strong, but I cannot see why the absence of the article should prevent us from understanding ἐπαρχείας as meaning "of the province." As Sherk and Viereck both have shown, the absence of the definite article is a common feature of Roman documentary Greek, a paradigm illustration of the *color Latinus*; Romans had no feeling for the definite article. As to the Vinicius, whose letter appears in Latin and (partially) in Greek in this inscription, Sherk is excessively cautious: he rejects M. Vinicius, cos. A. D. 30 and 45, as coming too late, but (like Hanslik) he refuses to accept the M. Vinicius on the Mylasa stone cited by L. Robert as the consul of 19 B. C. on the grounds that he might be the later Marcus. This cannot be, because the Mylasa inscription refers to a cult, and the later Marcus is too late for such a form of honor. Moreover, in August, 1966, I saw at Aphrodisias two recently uncovered statue bases that form an obvious pair. One honors a M. Vinicius as a benefactor, the other a P. Vinicius. These ought to be the consul of 19 B. C. and the consul of A. D. 2, both Augustan governors of Asia. **No. 65** (Epist. Pauli Fabii Maximi, etc.): Unfortunately, Sherk's publication of this document was unable to take account of the excellent new edition and commentary by Umberto Laffi: "Le iscrizioni relative all'introduzione nel 9 a. C. del nuovo calendario della Provincia d'Asia," *Studi Classici e Orientali*, XVI (1967), pp. 5-98. Laffi's publication supersedes and improves upon Sherk's in many respects. Sherk is still doubtful about the date of 9 B. C., but Laffi has surely laid all doubts to rest on p. 32, n. 24. Sherk is similarly overcautious in refusing to acknowledge that the proconsul L. Volcacius Tullus is the consul of 33 B. C. His argument is that the awarding of the crown for a singular honor to Augustus some fifteen years or so after the contest was set up (assuming Tullus was governor in the early or middle twenties) has to be explained. It seems to me that D, lines 47-8, explain it: τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἀγνοηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τειμήν. Only the Apamea fragments indicate the relative order of the Latin and the Greek

texts of this inscription, and it is clear that the Latin came first; therefore, Sherk should have printed the Latin first, as does Laffi. In addition, the Eumeneia fragment, recorded by Sherk, is not used in his text; hence in D, lines 58-60, there are brackets in the text for letters actually on the Eumeneia fragment. In A, line 30, the proconsul's utterance is called a *διάταγμα*, therefore perhaps better designated an *edictum* than an *epistula*. Also some comment on that remarkable lexical item *δελτογράφημα* in D, lines 62 and 66, would have been welcome: cf. L. Robert, *Ant. Class.*, XXXV (1966), pp. 404-6. **No. 66** (Epist. P. Cornelii Scipionis ad Thyatirenos): In discussing the Asian proconsulate of P. Cornelius Scipio, cos. 16 B. C., Sherk missed the Mysian inscription mentioning him: L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*[2] (1962), p. 400. **No. 69** (Epist. Cn. Cornelii Lentuli ad Nysaeos): Some mention might have been made of the priest of Tiberius in lines 7-8,—a remarkable detail for 1 B. C., when Tiberius' future did not look very bright.

Other scholars will certainly have other points to note in their discussions of Sherk's book. This is proof of the richness and importance of what he has given us.

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Giovanni D'Anna. M. Pacuvii Fragmenta. Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1967. Pp. 299. L. 5000. (*Poetarum Latinorum Reliquiae, Aetas Rei Publicae*, III, 1.)

It was Pacuvius who acquainted a Roman theatre audience with the philosophical opinion that Fortune is demented, blind, and brutish. She, in the course of a long rebound, destroyed about ninety-seven per cent of his works. And to prove that there is method in her madness she did the same, if not worse, by the tragedies of his uncle and poetic mentor Quintus Ennius. Indeed there has been over the centuries a surprising parallelism in the way these two poets have fared.

If we were to choose any single year in which the barometer of fame seemed set fair for both, we might well choose 183 B. C., when the mean of their ages was about forty-five. Both were, to all seeming, hale and active then—Ennius in later middle-age, but celebrating his first anniversary as a Roman citizen, and quickening his genius with alcohol while saying bo to the specter of gout; and Pacuvius a coming man of about thirty-seven, very likely already interested in the career of Aemilius Paulus, who ran for consul this year and was later to form the subject of one of his plays. Both playwrights had their day as the cynosure of the Roman stage, and at first both lasted well. After a century we find both being intelligently read and quoted for the benefit of Herennius by his rhetor friend, and beginning also to be of deep and abiding interest to Cicero. In the early empire they were admired by the Plinies—the uncle by the nephew and the nephew by the uncle. As late as the

fourth century, plays of both were much thumbed by Nonius in course of research for his dictionary of republican Latin. But soon thereafter the center of things began to fall apart, and by (let us say) A. D. 560 the mouldy playbooks of both tragedians had been irrevocably thrown out along with so much other antiquarian clutter. For a thousand years both lay in limbo. Then Robert Estienne began to winnow the surviving classics for quoted bits of them, and the resulting fragments, with those of other early poets, were published by his son Henri in 1564. Fragment-editing went on. Uncle and nephew stood shoulder to shoulder in Ribbeck, and the twentieth century saw the appearance or reappearance of more than one corpus or specialist study in which they could be read in the now established form of, in each case, between 400 and 500 disjointed lines or part-lines. In 1967, precisely 2150 years after the mean *floruit* of the two poets, Fortune carried out the further measure of arranging full-scale new and independent editions of the tragic fragments of both: those of Pacuvius edited by his fellow-countryman Giovanni D'Anna, and published in the city where the plays were originally acted, and where SPQR is still to be read as a legend on manhole covers; and those of Ennius appearing in Britain on the remote edge of the Ennian world, and edited by H. D. Jocelyn, a *philologus* from the undreamt of antipodes.

D'Anna's book, like the others in the series to which it belongs, is in its general method both lucid and basically competent. The same might be said of his introduction, except that it is rather dull, circumscribed, and old-fashioned in aim, and shows little interest either in the theatrical conditions of the time or in the impact on each other of Greek myth and the Roman mind. It first re-examines the meager biographical information that we have, proceeding to a summary of points of literary resemblance and difference between Pacuvius and Ennius. The editor then discusses the Pacuvian canon and its relation to Greek sources, emphasizing that coincidence of title between a Pacuvian and a Greek play is not enough to establish the latter as a source, still less as the only source. Indeed we more than once seem able to prove a plurality of sources, just as in other cases we cannot guess even one. The *Dulorestes* tells the story of Orestes' vengeance but does not coincide with any of the three extant Greek versions; and though there are more fragments of this play than any other, none of them can be precisely aligned with source-passages. For the *Iliona* and the *Medus* there are no known Greek models. Indeed, "of the three major early Latin tragedians, Pacuvius is the one who offers the smallest number of lines in which correspondence with Greek source-passages can be traced." D'Anna's conclusion here is that Pacuvius is in a position of greater freedom vis-à-vis the great Greek tragedians than is either Ennius or Accius. He discusses the nature of Pacuvian *doctrina* (attested by both Horace and Quintilian) and thinks it natural that Accius, who stands most directly in the line of succession, should in some ways imitate, and in other ways react against, the earlier poet's choices and methods. Among other comments on Pacuvius' reputation and influence, D'Anna notes as puzzling the apparent hostility of Lucilius towards him—puzzling because in a broad sense they were of the same cultural circle—and reminds

us that Senecan tragedy probably owes more than is generally recognized to the early Latin writers and Pacuvius in particular.

In the body of the book we are given, first, testimonia, tables of sigla and editions, and other bibliographic information. Then come the fragments of the named plays, each play introduced by a discussion of plot and possible sources, and each fragment accompanied by summary indication of the literary context in which it is quoted, with a running apparatus criticus. The *incertae fabulae* and *incerta vel pseudopacuviana* are treated as far as possible in the same way, and are followed by the commentary (with further bibliographic aids), a translation into Italian, a conspectus of meters, and a concordance of D'Anna with Ribbeck-Klotz.

D'Anna concurs in the opinion of the past hundred years that there are twelve tragedies plus one praetexta (the *Paulus*) which can be securely named and identified as Pacuvian. He makes out a case for adding to the canon an *Orestes* covering different ground (Furies and purification) from those parts of the Orestes story dramatized in the *Dulorestes, Chryses,* and *Hermiona.* On the other hand he rejects as inadequate the evidence for a *Protesilaus* (accepted provisionally by Ribbeck and more doubtfully by Warmington and Klotz) and for a *Thyestes.* He also rejects Ribbeck's guesses that Pacuvius wrote an *Amphitruo* and a *Chrysippus.* This conservatism is paralleled by his handling of the text of the fragments. His critical apparatus is more thorough, in the sense of being more systematic and at many points fuller, than any earlier counterpart, and it claims (p. 29) to include some fresh collation of the principal MSS of Nonius, who is by far the most frequent quoter of Pacuvius. Original conjecture is restrained and innocuous, being limited to some five or six places where either the change is of very slight moment or the text is wholly doubtful and the doubt remains (see the critical notes on his lines 14, 55, 153, 201-2, 209).

Where the editor's industry at first glance appears most impressive is in the tally of fragments which he collects and assigns to the certain, named plays. Here the ostensible advance on Ribbeck and Klotz looks quite large. Whereas the latter editors enumerated some 346 lines from named tragedies, plus four from the *Paulus,* D'Anna makes the total 404. How came Ribbeck, we ask, to overlook about fifty lines demonstrably belonging to the named plays? What cache of republican Latin has D'Anna unearthed, and in what erudite Father of the Church or hitherto unwinnowed deipnosophist did he find it? Even when it is recalled that the totals in Ribbeck and Klotz are in reality somewhat larger than their numeration indicates, D'Anna still appears far ahead.

On closer inspection we find that the case is one, not of new discovery, but of opinion and revaluation. With the solitary exception of one fragment, and that a spurious one, all D'Anna's augmentations are lines that were known to Ribbeck and Klotz and included by them either among the uncertain plays or among "*inc. inc.*" fragments on the ground that no more positive ascription is justified. D'Anna has in fact transferred about 46 lines from the first of these two "uncertain" categories, and about 27 from the second—a total of about 73, the net increase of fifty being arrived at by

"transfer *out*" of various lines which had been given probable locations by the earlier editors. In this respect the book is essentially a reshuffle. It is a justifiable, indeed a healthy, challenge to the judgment of its forerunners, but in the nature of the case is often dealing with imponderables. The only fragment extra to what was already *sub judice* is a sentence of Cicero's (*ad quas . . . elaborabimus, De Off.*, I, 114) which Strzelecki in 1952 misguidedly claimed to be a quotation from Pacuvius on the ground that one of his plays is referred to in the previous sentence but one, and that Cicero's words can with goodwill be licked into septenarian rhythm. Anyone who looks up the context will see that Strzelecki is wrong. Weakness of judgment in such an instance somewhat lessens our confidence in D'Anna's handling of the doubtfully placed fragments. Editors of this poet can in fact be divided into the cautious and the sanguine. Ribbeck and Klotz belong to the former category, Warmington and D'Anna to the latter. It is a mark of a sanguine editor to leave as few lines as possible under the rubric of the unnamed plays. Ribbeck and Klotz felt obliged to leave between 90 and 100 lines in this category. Warmington and D'Anna pare the figure down to somewhere in the fifties. Ironically enough, after this, D'Anna fails to mention three genuine tragic septenarii quoted by Cicero at *Tusc.*, III, 28 and 58, which are usually assigned to Ennius but which might with equal reason be attributed to Pacuvius' *Teucer*. It was left to Jocelyn to point this out.

D'Anna's discussions are in general fair, and his case for reassigning fragments is often plausible, though seldom conclusive. The same applies to his reordering of fragments within a given play, as witness fragments 20 and 21 of the *Medus*, where he interestingly reverses the order which has obtained hitherto. The tenor of the book can perhaps best be gauged from what he has done with Pacuvius' comments on Fortune from which this review began. They form a well-known fragment in which the poet first asks whether the flux in human affairs is due to Fortune as an irresponsible deity or to mere impersonal change, and then proceeds to instance the reduction of Orestes to beggary. The fragment occurs at *Rhet. ad Her.*, II, 36, where it is stated to be by Pacuvius. It has long been suspected to belong to his *Chryses*, but this has not been claimed as certain, and the question has always been complicated by doubt as to where precisely the quotation ends. Now D'Anna correctly and usefully points out (p. 200) that, after the quotation, the prose discourse must resume at the words *nam hic*, this being a formula used by the same author elsewhere in exactly the same way. But does it follow that the immediately preceding words are by Pacuvius? Immediately before *nam hic*, there are in the MSS some words, including *naufragio*, which as they stand make neither good sense nor good meter. Many have emended the words into a septenarius, included it in the quotation, and suggested that the latter comes from the *Chryses* because there Orestes has just landed on an island from shipboard. D'Anna goes further. He prints the whole passage as belonging indisputably to the *Chryses* and argues that Ribbeck and Warmington were wrong in giving the doubtful words before *nam hic* to the rhetor *ad Herennium*. But in truth neither Ribbeck nor Warmington did so. Both scholars, following

Hermann, regarded these words as an interpolated scholium (which D'Anna forgets that he mentioned on p. 79), *naufragio* being introduced with the idea of explaining *how* Orestes became a beggar. Thus D'Anna's chief reason for accepting the suspect words is founded on a misconception. He may still be right, but since the other fragments of the *Chryses*, and the summary of the story by Hyginus, do not say that Orestes at the time in question is shipwrecked but merely leave the possibility open, the ascription of the whole Fortune passage to this play should remain tentative rather than be claimed as proven. This after all is what would be done in similar circumstances nowadays with a papyrus fragment of Greek comedy, and the argument in the case of Pacuvius is neither less nor more secure.

Reasonable care has been taken to cite the texts from the best editions of classical authors, though for the *De Oratore*, ignoring Wilkins (Kumaniecki was not yet available), D'Anna uses that of Friedrich in the late nineteenth century. For the *De Officiis* he cites Atzert's 1923 edition though that of 1963 is better; and for Servius he has gone back to Thilo-Hagen, with no mention of the available parts of the Harvard Servius (contrast Jocelyn). Of twentieth-century Pacuvian studies, such as the work of Valsa, Argenio, and Strzelecki, he takes fair (sometimes overfair) account; Zielinski's insights into the structure of the *Iliona* are a minor omission.

As with other books in this series there is a certain lack of care over finish. Polymestor's name appears in the genitive where the dative is intended (p. 112); one and the same actor is called Rupilius on p. 47 and Rutilius three pages later; and we meet such surprising word-forms as "anniane" and "ipoaesi." Valsa in reporting the influence of Pacuvius on later writers had omitted Accius: D'Anna repairs the omission, but an unfortunate typographical mix-up at this point (p. 26) makes him appear to say that the younger tragedian's *Bacchae* took up simultaneously the themes of three Pacuvian plays which were in fact quite unrelated to each other.

The book illustrates both the merits and the faults of much present-day Italian classical scholarship. It is timely and fills a need, but contains too large an element of *doxa* and of accidental error to rank as really authoritative, with the result (not necessarily a bad one) that users will find themselves constantly obliged to check what is said and to exercise their own judgment. In the comparison with Jocelyn, which it is inevitable to make, one is bound to conclude that Pacuvius has been less well served than Ennius. D'Anna, it is true, gives us a translation, which Jocelyn does not, and his commentary embraces the *incertae fabulae*, which Jocelyn's edition leaves uncommented. But D'Anna's scholarship is the less accomplished (it picks up on the term *contaminatio*, for example, exactly where the nineteenth century left off) and his use of his own language has less character and incisiveness. Both editors give us concordances with other editions, but D'Anna's synopsis of meters is less useful in form, and he offers no *index verborum*, thus making it difficult to locate a fragment unless we already know its number in (e. g.) Ribbeck. As in so many books from continental Europe, he likewise fails to give us a general index (contrast Jocelyn).

Another small thing which illustrates Jocelyn's greater thought for the reader is that you can open both his text and his commentary and see at once, from the page-heading, which play you are at: D'Anna's text has this aid, but his commentary and translation lack it.

The superiority of Jocelyn's book is most evident, however, in its introduction, which is about twice as long as D'Anna's. The latter, as shown above, approaches Pacuvius with the traditional apparatus of *Wissenschaft*, and is in fact reminiscent of an article in *R.-E.*, whereas Jocelyn's sixty-three pages constitute a very much more profound, subtly articulated, and, at moments, inspired attempt to understand his author and present him in the setting of republican theatre history. And although neither playwright can be said to come really back to life within the layer upon layer of learned impedimenta in which the fragments of both have nowadays to be encased, the paper, typography, and physical finish of Jocelyn's book combine with its scholarship to give Ennius a finer mausoleum than his nephew, to whom Fortune has now, over and above her former misprisions, assigned the crowning indignity of outward-bending covers.

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MATTHIAS GELZER. Cicero: Ein biographischer Versuch. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969. Pp. x + 410.

Matthias Gelzer stands in no need of praise. For the better part of two generations, he has been preeminent in the fields of Roman Republican history and historiography. And the passing years have not dimmed his powers and productivity. Gelzer's analyses of Republican politics were epoch-making and remain fundamental. His biographies of Caesar and Pompeius are classics. A few years ago his *Kleine Schriften* were republished in three volumes, giving a wider audience access to pieces produced over the span of more than a half century. And now, thirty years after the appearance of Gelzer's monumental article on Cicero in the Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*, it has been reissued in handsome and imposing book form. Much gratitude is due to Hermann Strasburger who conceived the project and to the Franz Steiner Verlag which executed it.

Gelzer's *Cicero* is more than a simple reproduction of the *R.-E.* article. The master himself, already an octogenarian, took it in hand, reworked some portions, and included additional material. Approximately one quarter of the volume is new. For the most part this consists of summaries of themes from Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical works. The original piece dealt only with the political career. We now have discussions of the literary productions interwoven into a larger and more complete biography. This also provided Gelzer an opportunity to exercise his gifts for *Quellenforschung*, to distinguish and delineate the Greek models on which

Cicero drew. In addition, the footnotes are considerably expanded, taking into account much modern literature which has appeared since publication of the *R.-E.* article. They are, of course, selective. Everything could not be noted, and only a few have induced Gelzer to make any changes in the text itself (as with the chronology of 59 B. C.; pp. 127-31). But the enlarged references, plus a careful, full index, markedly enhance the work's value.

Articles in Pauly-Wissowa, it must be borne in mind, are primarily designed as works of reference. Since the bulk of Gelzer's book is faithful to the original piece, this profoundly affects its character. It possesses all of the merits, but also the drawbacks of a reference work. Citations of the sources are thorough. Gelzer scrupulously collects relevant material. Virtually every statement is documented, and the footnotes and text are liberally sprinkled with quotations from the ancients. But the discussions themselves are like those in most good *R.-E.* articles: detailed and straightforward, without much analysis. Discussions of Cicero's career are largely narrative; presentations of his literary works are basically summaries of the arguments. The purpose is to keep the tale moving without undue interruptions for speculation. There is no introduction or setting out of problems; and little space for Gelzer to step back and reflect. A final judgment on his subject is limited to two brief pages, a reworking (and indeed an abbreviation) of the conclusion in the original article.

As a consequence, a rounded portrait of Cicero does not really emerge. Scattered allusions reflect Gelzer's views. Cicero opted for a "middle way," influenced by Greek political philosophy. He steered between the *pauci* and the *seditiosi*. The *novus homo* could control no faction of his own, but sought entrance to the charmed circle of the nobility. He upheld the principles of the aristocracy, but pressed for more open access to it and a collaborative enterprise among the better elements of the state. Gelzer finds these attitudes expressed early—in the *Verrines* and the *Pro Cluentio* (pp. 49-50, 58-9), as well as later, in the 50's, when Cicero was on the defensive (pp. 175-9). They were the source of Cicero's later disappointments, but appear again to bolster him in the *Philippics* (pp. 376-7). Gelzer's reflections occur sporadically and briefly but are never developed. Opportunity might have presented itself in discussions of Cicero's *Pro Sestio* or *De Legibus*, but those documents, oddly, receive very short shrift (pp. 157-8, 273-5). The orator's personality, family life, and connections play a small role in these pages. Without them the man himself cannot be fully understood. Gelzer's *Cicero* does not have the vividness and force of the *Caesar* and the *Pompeius*. They were designed as biographies; the *Cicero* became a biography as an afterthought.

The awkwardness of transforming a Pauly-Wissowa piece into a book shows itself repeatedly. The facts are set forth, but the explanations are wanting. So, for example, Gelzer gives the structure and content of the *Pro Roscio Amerino*, but does not elucidate its role in the context of Sulla's dictatorship (pp. 19-22). Cicero's campaigns for the praetorship in 67 and the consulship in 64 are outlined. But what accounts for the remarkable success which put him at the top of the poll on each occasion? (pp. 53-4, 66-9).

There is no discussion of Cicero's speeches against the Rullan bill, a most curious omission (pp. 72-4). The *lex Tullia de ambitu* is mentioned only in passing (pp. 80-1). And why no summary even of the *Pro Archia* (p. 109)?

Straightforward narrative expounds the events and stages of Cicero's exile and the movements for his recall (pp. 135-49); nothing on the political implications or the effects on the orator. The "hows" but not the "whys" are what we are given. Similarly, Gelzer notes the trials of 54, gives summaries of the *Pro Scauro* and the *Pro Plancio*, but offers only sparse analyses of the political situation (pp. 193-205). There is a recounting of events leading to Milo's climactic trial in 52; yet a surprisingly brief treatment of the *Pro Milone*, one of the most powerful (at least in its written form) of Cicero's orations (pp. 209-10). The pattern continues. Gelzer provides step by step information on Cicero's voyage to Cilicia, with strict attention to the correspondence of 51 and 50. But the governor's role and the difficulties faced in administering a province are beyond his scope (pp. 225-36). The same applies to the civil war. Gelzer narrates Cicero's movements and the thoughts expressed in the letters. We do not, however, really perceive his dilemma or understand his decisions to join Pompey and then abandon him (pp. 243-63). The picture of Cicero in 45 and early 44 is paradoxical and unclear. There were shifts between abject despair and a hopefulness that Caesar might restore the Republic. Gelzer duly reports Cicero's abortive letter to Caesar, his *Cato*, his *Pro Deiotaro*, as well as his periodic lamentations; but he does not give the reader the benefit of his own comments (pp. 315-20).

A few minor points. The influence of Philo the Academic on Cicero's philosophic thought is perhaps exaggerated and that of Antiochus unduly soft-pedalled (pp. 9, 24). Is it plausible that while the *lex Gabinia* roused contentious opposition, the *lex Manilia* passed without difficulty (p. 56)? That would not be suggested by Cicero's *De Lege Manilia*. There is no evidence that Caesar got Catilina off in his murder trial of 64 (p. 68). It is uncertain that the *De Provinciis Consularibus* should be identified with Cicero's "palinode" (p. 171). One cannot take for granted that Crassus and Caesar backed the Rullan bill in 63 (p. 72). Nor that Pompey sought dictatorial power in 57 (pp. 152-3). The discerning of political content in Cicero's rhetorical and philosophical works is sometimes hazardous. Gelzer believes the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* could not have been published during Caesar's dictatorship because allusions to Cato and Stoic philosophy implied criticism of the regime (p. 272). Yet Cicero is much more open and critical in the *Brutus*, as Gelzer himself shows, though he does not doubt its publication (pp. 265-9). And it requires excessive subtlety to see political import in the dialogues written in 45 (pp. 313-14). The final struggle for the Republic in 43 found Cicero active and vigorous. Was it all self-delusion? Gelzer does not think so when writing of Cicero's stance in January (p. 377). But he takes a very different line in criticizing Cicero's allusions in June (p. 399). It is not likely that the orator's realistic appraisal in January had given way to fantasy six months later when the situation, in fact, was worse (cf. p. 396).

It would be ungrateful to dwell on disagreements in detail. When

Gelzer allows himself to make judgments, he is perceptive and insightful. He rightly sees the career of Marius as a model and the new Sullan senate as an inspiration for Cicero's "politische Laufbahn" (p. 15). A sensitive contrast is made between the cultivated *novus homo* who best exemplifies traditional Roman *virtus* and the less gifted *nobiles* (p. 41). Gelzer affords a good analysis of Cicero's success in the defense of Cornelius: though a few *principes* were with the prosecution, the orator could reckon on the support of many conservatives; Cornelius was not a *seditiosus* (pp. 62-6). Cicero's self-deception in urging Lucceius to write a panegyric is exposed: others did not see the orator as he saw himself (p. 173). Gelzer neatly ties the *De Amicitia*, with its stress on loyalty to the state over personal friendship, to Cicero's exchange with Matius. The orator comes off second best (pp. 353-6). Some of the best parts of the book are contained in the author's careful exposition of the *Philippics* and their surrounding circumstances. He brings out in detail Cicero's difficulties in juggling various interest groups, in organizing a coalition, and in reconciling the Republicans with the ex-Caesarians (pp. 325-406).

The concluding judgment on Cicero gives Gelzer some room for reflection. One wishes that he had taken more. Cicero's failure is not that he was an incompetent politician, but that he consistently overestimated his own influence. Greek-inspired ideals and his own rhetorical training and prowess led him astray. The instinct for power inherent in a natural born politician was lacking in Cicero. He could not operate outside the categories of the traditional Republican system. The pragmatic politician like Caesar who was not bound by philosophic ideals and therefore retained a free hand for change remained unintelligible for Cicero (pp. 409-10).

By and large the views expressed will cause no surprise to those familiar with Gelzer's writings and with the literature on the late Republic. Format of the work provides little scope for digression or generalization. Political events are, on the whole, narrated rather than analyzed; theoretical works receive summaries rather than probings in depth. But the value of this new edition is not to be underestimated. Its only challengers are Drumann-Groebe's lengthy section in the *Geschichte Roms* and Ciaceri's *Cicerone e i suoi tempi*. But the former is generally dense and unreadable, the latter frequently too speculative. Gelzer's *R.-E.* article remains the most thorough and most solid piece of scholarship on Cicero. To have it available in an expanded and accessible form is welcome indeed.

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GUNTHER WILLE. Musica Romana: Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer. Amsterdam, Verlag P. Schippers N. V., 1967. Pp. 799. Hfl. 120.

The day is now past when one can dismiss the topic of music in Roman life as of only minor importance, to be treated as a casual addendum to the study of Greek music. Any doubts that may have survived Fleischhauer's strictures on this point in his volume on Etruria and Rome in the *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* series will be laid to rest with the publication of this monumental new work bv Günther Wille.

This work evokes the highest admiration. In spite of vast scope and mountains of detail, its organization, clarity, thoroughness, and even brilliance are remarkable. In format and approach it treats its subject in the manner of the famous *Handbuch* series of Müller, and earns a place on the reference shelf right along side of them, not only because it fills a gap in subject matter too long overlooked, but also because its level of achievement is so high. There can be no doubt that *Musica Romana* will serve as the standard reference on this subject for a long time to come.

Though admirably set up to serve as a convenient reference work (with every conceivable aspect of the topic covered in numbered paragraphs locateable through exhaustive indices), so logically are the topics treated that one can read the work as it stands from the beginning to end with no sense of confusion.

Only the briefest survey of the topics discussed in its 799 pages is possible here. Some 195 sections arranged in thirteen chapters and supported by over seven thousand footnotes range from a discussion of the place and status of music in Roman life and thought (much higher than is often stated) to a discussion of the works of those ancient musical theorists who wrote in Latin (more independent of Greek writers than is commonly believed).

The first chapter discusses the history of the scholarship on the subject of Roman music. Chapter II discusses the aspect of music which lay at the heart of the Roman character: the music of cultus. Chapter III explains its place in the military life, Chapter IV in the daily life of the Romans. So far we are dealing with the aspect of their music which is traditionally Roman. With the influx of Greek culture and institutions, the music of the Greeks adds the music of the theatre and of "High Art." These are discussed in chapters V and VI. Chapter VI in particular is one of the most important in the entire work. In it he examines the effect of the introduction of the music of stringed instruments, particularly the Greek *lyra* and *kithara*, on the Roman cultural scene. This leads him to the conclusion that Roman lyric poetry was intended from the first to be *sung*, and that constant references to lyres, barbitons, and so on in lyric poets were not simply convention, as is generally assumed. Wille's thesis is a little hard to prove one way or another in the case of Catullus (though he can prove that at least in the time of Pliny the Younger hendecasyllabics were not only sung, but accompanied on the lyre), but fully convincing to me in the case of Horace. Wille examines the evidence for the singing of Horatian lyrics in his own time, down through history, until the present.

Surely no one can doubt that the *Carmen Saeculare* was sung; why not the other *carmina*? It is not merely a question of taking Horace literally when he uses the word *cantare*; the burden of proof lies on those who insist that it is merely a hoary convention. Chapter VII entitled "*Die Musik in römischen Gesellschaft*" treats a miscellany of topics: the professional status of the musician, their reputation and perquisites, slaves as musicians, and musical amateurism among high-ranking Romans (e. g. Nero). Chapter VIII examines the attitude towards music of the early Christians, and what is known of their own music.

In chapter IX Wille turns to the subject of music in culture or thought of Rome. It is a rather miscellaneous chapter which begins with Roman theories of the place of music in culture, and finishes with the evidence for musical notation and pitch theories of grammarians. Chapter X narrows the discussion to musical aspects of rhetorical, grammatical, and mythological writings.

Chapter XI examines information on music derived from non-musical technical literature, such as history, architecture, history of art, and so on.

Chapter XII analyzes the technical literature concerned with musical theory. Wille limits his attention to Roman music, Roman sources, and theorists who write in Latin, although there are abundant references in the footnotes which make clear his command of the Greek evidence. He could hardly do otherwise, given the immensity of the task he has set himself. Yet it is one thing to give the Romans long overdue recognition as devotees of music in their own right: it is another to perpetuate the artificial distinction between "Greek" and "Roman" music. Distinctions there are, but they are largely chronological, not national. Most of the music which has survived written in Greek notation comes from Roman times, and Roman contexts. One of our longest Greek hymns ends with a prayer for the safety of Rome. If we accept Mesomedes as the composer of the hymns which come down under his name, we are dealing with a composer of the court of Hadrian. The doctrine of the theorists who write in Latin is in its main outlines indistinguishable from that of the theorists who write in Greek. Boethius is largely translating Nichomachus and Ptolemy. Yet Wille has done a service in revealing that the Latin theorists are not slavishly dependent on Greek theory, and do bring a typical Roman point of view to the discussion.

In the concluding chapter Wille provides his own summary of the results of his encyclopaedic research, results partly of new method, partly of new material.

First of all he has gathered all the relevant evidence together in one place in an organized fashion. This immediately makes clear that there is scarcely an area of Roman life in which music did not play an important role. Music as High Art was not neglected and reaches its culmination with the achievements of Horace, whom Wille (I believe rightly) believes was important as a musician as well as a poet.

He then proceeds to seventeen (numbered) paragraphs, outlining the major points of the book. I shall mention only a few.

First, it is clear that there is a basic Italian traditional music at

the heart of Roman musical culture. Particularly Italian are the various work and professional songs. Music was a vital part of military life. Greek music entered Roman life, but did not displace the traditional music. Horace shows the fruitful marriage of the two strains.

Musical virtuosi were admired, and music was useful for the task of the Rhetorician. Many literary forms, such as those of Catullus, were shaped by music, and even though Latin musical theorists were heavily dependent on Greek originals, from Varro on they contributed a Latin viewpoint of their own to the discussion of music. Augustine, in particular, brought new understanding to music.

All of this adds up to a radical readjustment of the traditional stereotypes of Romans as un-musical philistines, and establishes them as appropriate ancestors to the later day Italians, creators of modern Western music.

The Appendices are full and clear. The Bibliography contains only a few short of five hundred items, covering both Greek and Roman music. It is clear that Wille has not only read but utilized nearly the entire corpus of scholarship on the subject. There are thirty-eight pages (at three columns a page) of references to ancient authorities, Greek and Latin. Finally there is an exceptionally comprehensive and useful index.

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JACQUELINE DE ROMILLY. Time in Greek Tragedy. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1968. Pp. 180. $5.95.

Jean Giraudoux once stated that "the theater is not a theorem, but a spectacle, not a lesson, but a philter. It should enter your imagination and your senses more than your mind." Mme de Romilly senses the enchantment of the Greek tragic theater but also seeks a new avenue of understanding. She finds her approach to the inner structure and meaning of the plays through a study of the importance of time seen not only in the individual dramas but in the larger context of political and cultural developments. Tragedy inevitably enacts a time of decision that entails a verdict, the last in a way reminiscent of the courtroom where old and new concepts and the defendant's actions were weighed by a juror audience. Lives are figuratively measured in tragedy just as speeches are measured in the courtroom debate, the one by the timeless devices of divine justice, the other by the mechanics of the clepsydra and the corporate wisdom of the dicasts. Aeschylus emphasized this analogy between the tragic and the heliastic experience in the *Eumenides*.

Mme de Romilly's six lectures were delivered at Cornell University in April 1967. In her first lecture she defines the essence of the tragic action concisely and pertinently: "tragedy suggests a perpetual reflection about the relations between this series of events and the past or the future; it discusses and meditates about intricate causes and responsibilities" (p. 11). Aeschylus, in the *Oresteia*,

allows the heavy burden of the past to crystallize around one decisive moment thereby merging past and present in one action. Sophocles' tragedy is less general for it centers on one hero whose life and fortunes are at stake; there is no longer the simplicity of divine justice as a solution, or a passive hero resigned to be Heaven's paradigm. Sophoclean oracles may promise a crisis but they shed no light on the result, only on the present urgency. "This special mixture of foreboding and uncertainty, or solemnity and urgency, is peculiar to Sophocles; it implies a combination of actions and counteractions, the success of which depends on time" (p. 21). In Euripides' tragedies foreboding, rational expectation, and even hope are usually absent. There are narrow escapes and skilful timing, but plots have become so complex, so full of surprises and reversals, that the crisis practically dissolves into separate issues. The tense expectation and the climax, essential to Greek tragedy, wane with Euripides and so we near the end of Greek tragedy which "dies when it frees itself from the rhythm of an action tightly clinging to time" (p. 24). Choral stasima habitually interrupt the even passage of time, introducing new themes, reflections, fears, hopes, and regrets which partly diminish time's pressure. In Aeschylean tragedies the choral songs unite past and present and are part of the dramatist's vision of the past as something alive and active, haunting the present scene with horrendous implications. Sophocles and Euripides use the odes to define general and eternal aspects of the present scene, to enable them to escape the particular and the relentless grip of time.

Mme de Romilly's second lecture treats the mythological description and personification of time as each tragedian invested it with personal imagery. Originally a vague abstract presence it gradually became associated with divine action and gained independence as a witness and a sovereign power. Chapter 3 is a masterly account of time as a philosophical and structural factor in Aeschylean tragedy. The *Oresteia* shows how, through the travail of the house of Atreus, a primitive revenge code was superseded in time by the principle of the legal trial of a killer by his fellow-citizens. Time for Aeschylus is a teacher; deeds have consequences and the doer must suffer but after the experience of Orestes, crimes are to be judged mercifully, with human and divine reason acting in concert. Generations and family histories are basic to the Aeschylean conception of morality and the design of Zeus. Time matures slowly and men only learn through suffering, through experience in successive generations. Within the Aeschylean plays there is a constant oscillation between past and present and in the centre of the plays there is regularly a flash-back that revives the most distant past along with anticipations and predictions of the future. Thucydides adopts the same technique, for into his historical continuity he frequently inserts long parentheses about the past when its influence was most decisive. But with the historian, logical, human causes have superseded the Aeschylean religious and moral ones. Chapter 4 explores Sophoclean time and the events which challenge the hero's resources and test his fibre. Mme de Romilly finds that the Sophoclean hero refuses to adapt to the altering circumstances of life, that he reveals a fundamental obstinacy and an unwillingness to com-

promise. Time is then overcome by the sheer action of the hero's will. Because time may admit quick changes of circumstances, urgency is another hallmark of Sophoclean tragedy, an urgency that excludes the maturing process of Aeschylean time. "Their standard is not the family's life: it is their own happiness or misery. Time is therefore an internal and psychological experience" (p. 111). Euripides' view of time (Chapter 5) is psychological; the hero's experience is of an emotional nature and frequently complex. Whereas time is an uncertain drift with Sophocles, with Euripides the emphasis is on the immediate present. In her treatment of youth and age in tragedy (Chapter 6), Mme de Romilly argues that Aeschylus associates wisdom with old age and responsibility, both wanting in imprudent young men. For Aeschylus there is a majesty attaching to age (*Eumenides*). There is also, one might add, a plea for harmony and reconciliation of old and young both in the conceptions of deity and in the area of political organization. Aeschylus may be regarded as urging acceptance of the new democratic devices by reactionary elements in the polis. Sophocles' reflections on the "generation gap" are more critical; he tends to favor noble, uncompromising young people particularly when they compete with their blind ambitious elders. For Euripides old age brings misery, loss of physical strength, the end of love and sometimes of wisdom. His theater mounts a parade of pitiful, weak, complaining old people, prey to agony and despair. Alcestis, Macaria, Polyxena, Iphigeneia, Menoeceus, Hippolytus, and Ion all die in a manner quite unlike that of the obdurate, lonely Sophoclean girls and young men. Mme de Romilly reminds us that Euripides' interest in man's miseries and variable fortunes "coincided with the excess of democratic individualism, with the evils of war, with the impending threat against the power of Athens" (p. 170).

The implications and importance of these six lectures far exceeds their small compass. There are exhilarating new viewpoints and fresh indications of the author's humane wisdom and broad scholarship. Her findings must be weighed carefully in any subsequent study of the plays and of Greek dramaturgy in general. There may be reason to question her definition of the obstinate, immutable Sophoclean hero, and certainly Euripides' theater seems far more complex, more revolutionary than Mme de Romilly suggests. Innocence, comfort, and complacency are denied to the actors and to the spectators of Euripidean drama. The ritualistic aspects of the "classical theater" survived as vestigial devices and conventions in the canonical form of his plays, but the communal "oratorio" aspect was long past. There is a new sense of menace and futility, of man's inability to arrest the ruin or derangement of a culture and to bridge the divide between young and old men, institutions, or conceptions of deity, with sympathy and conviction.

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CYNTHIA S. DESSEN. *Iunctura Callidus Acri*: A Study of Persius' Satires. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1968. Pp. x + 117. $4.95 (cloth); $3.95 (paper). (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, LIX.)

Books and monographs dealing with Persius are rare indeed; in English they are almost non-existent. Except for Merwin's translation of 1961, which is provided with an extensive introduction, bibliographies on Persius contain no books in English produced in this century. Gildersleeve, just before he left the University of Virginia and came to Johns Hopkins to found this Journal, produced an excellent edition of the Satires (1875) which is still valuable today (if one can find a copy). And Gildersleeve's was the most impressive as well as the most extensive American contribution to the study of Persius until Wendell Clausen gave us his epoch-making textual edition of the Satires (1956). Now that we possess a reliable text and have accumulated the comments of successive editors, it is time that scholars try to estimate the achievement of Persius as satirist and poet. That requires a book or a monograph. And it is to fill that need, in part, that Mrs. Dessen has revised and published her able dissertation.

In her opening chapter Mrs. Dessen reviews the main trend of scholarly work on Persius in order to define her special aims. As she sees it, scholars have been too preoccupied with Persius' biography to read his Satires accurately, and it is now necessary to use better critical methods. Recent analyses of much so-called personal poetry have shown that poets create a dramatic speaker to talk about himself and that this speaker is never identical with the poet, often very remote indeed from the poet's experiences and feelings. Assuming, then, that Persius has also created a dramatic speaker or "satirist," Mrs. Dessen chooses to concentrate on the principal elements of Persius' artistry, the personality assigned to the speaker by Persius, his metaphorical clusters and the structure of his Satires. To do so, she analyzes carefully the choliambic lines and each of the six Satires.

Since one poet composed the seven works, Mrs. Dessen quite reasonably expects to find parallel features in them all. Greater or less development of thematic unity, more or less skillful integration of the speaker's personality may supply clues as to the chronological sequence of the Satires, but, regardless of variation, the portrait of the artist Persius emerges with considerable uniformity. He worked out his speaker's personality partly by letting him preach or speak against specific practices, for example, the pretentiousness of poets (choliambics and Satire 1) or ignorance of self (Satire 4), partly also by letting him converse with a specific adversary. Both in his preaching and his conversation, Persius' speaker expresses himself with great vehemence and animosity, much of which derives from the series of metaphors which he employs to label the foolish behavior of others. At first glance, these metaphors appear to be chaotic, but Mrs. Dessen believes that each Satire achieves unity by dominant metaphors. Many commentators have harshly criticized the structural techniques of Persius and all but denied the unity of certain Satires. The charm of Mrs. Dessen's methods is

that they are creative; they are applied to demonstrating the artistically-planned and -achieved unity of all the Satires.

Let us glance at two Satires where her results are most interesting. In 1928 G. L. Hendrickson startled scholars by attacking the structure of Satire 3, and branding the final 30 lines as intolerably ill-suited to the poem. The true poem that Persius wrote, according to Hendrickson, has only 87 lines; and we should also transpose 35-43 to come right after 57. Mrs. Dessen argues, to the contrary, that the personality of the speaker and the consistent use of a dominant metaphor amply justify the 30 lines removed bv Hendrickson. In the earlier part of the Satire, the speaker establishes himself as a convinced Stoic and an interested friend of his adversary; he is not trying to humiliate his companion but to persuade him to open himself to the life-giving possibilities of Stoicism. That is the point of the ostensibly autobiographical anecdote about his childhood. In the final 30 lines, the conversation with the adversary continues, and the Stoic does his best, by using vivid dramatic colors, to conquer his companion's hesitations. These dramatic colors consist of actions and details which enact symbolically the dominant metaphor of the poem, health/sickness as a moral as well as a physical condition. To be a Stoic is to be healthy. To refuse to study, as suggested by the dramatic scene of the opening, is to be sick; and it is equally "sick" to be so perversely anti-Stoic as to ignore the doctor's advice about food and drink or to plunge into wild gratification of other passions (scenes enacted in 88 ff.). The Satire is a unity, then, with a consistently used metaphor and a consistent speaker, who varies his tactics with his companion as he tries to convert him to Stoicism.

Even more ambitious is Mrs. Dessen's work on Satire 4. She states the structural problem in the words of Casaubon in 1605: the long initial conversation between Socrates and Alcibiades has nothing to do with what immediately follows it, lines 23-41, and only at 42 does Persius return rather awkwardly and unsatisfyingly to the proper context of 1-22. Against Casaubon and his many followers, she argues that the dramatic sequence and the metaphorical patterns remain consistent from the first line through 41. Socrates, who talks with Alcibiades in 1-22, following the model of Plato's *Alcibiades I*, is still talking with Alcibiades in 23 ff., and his words are appropriate to the Greek model. The difference is that now he takes the metaphor of the earlier conversation—that Alcibiades' political behavior resembles the antics of a male prostitute—and dramatizes it symbolically by reporting the scandalous remarks made bv one who has watched a somewhat effeminate Alcibiades sun himself. This metaphor of the male prostitute, so vividly represented in 33-41, is then restated in 42 ff. (see 43, 45, and 48). Thus, by her novel argument for the continuation of the dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades and for the dominant metaphor, Mrs. Dessen contrives to explain the unity of Satire 4. It is of course no accident that her tactics and her results resemble those described for Satire 3: the same Persius wrote both poems.

Arguments defending the unity of poems are often unconvincing precisely because one is on the defensive. And sometimes the method of argumentation can raise as many doubts as the attack on unity.

Mrs. Dessen often resorts to a hypothesis which runs somewhat like this: Persius followed one source in building his Satire (or the part attacked); the unity of the source proves the unity of Persius' effort. The defense of Satire 4, which I have outlined above, shows the application of this method, and I personally think that she makes a cogent case there, one worth weighing. Elsewhere, however, it seems to me that she achieves less success, for example in Satire 6, which she considers modeled closely on Horace, *Epistle*, II, 2. In a similarly debatable way, Mrs. Dessen asserts that certain passages of Persius were borrowed exclusively from earlier writers or allude specifically to contemporary events. When Persius' adversary vapidly claims in 1, 28 that it would be wonderful to be pointed out with the admiring whisper *hic est*, Mrs. Dessen believes that the phrase—a commonplace, after all—has been borrowed directly from Cicero, *Tusc.*, V, 103. Again, in the choliambics Persius talks about parrots saying Greek *chaere*. Almost on the basis of this word alone Mrs. Dessen constructs an extensive chain of hypotheses: 1. *Chaere* is the equivalent of *ave* used by Latin-speaking parrots. 2. *ave*-speaking parrots were frequently given to rulers. 3. The parrot here, then, symbolizes the client-patron relationship in Nero's court. 4. But Persius has changed *ave* to *chaere* in order to make his reader recall a passage of Cicero and the anecdote he tells about Albucius a philhellene (taken from Lucilius). 5. What other Romans said to Albucius in 120 B. C. to mock his philhellenism, namely *chaere* instead of *ave*, conveys through the *chaere* of the choliambics Persius' contempt for the philhellenism of his day.

I do not think that we should be surprised at enthusiastic and somewhat misguided argumentation of this sort. Most of what Mrs. Dessen writes is sensitive and sensible, and many of her interpretations not only contribute to the study of Persius but also indicate the scholarly promise of the writer. The University of Illinois should be congratulated for printing this work and making available at last a modern critical analysis of Persius. My chief regret is that the University Press did not know how to print Latin: Cicero is cited like a piece of poetry (p. 30); Persius' hexameters are inexcusably chopped up on almost every page.

WILLIAM S. ANDERSON.

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CONSTANTINE J. VOURVERIS. *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν Ἀρχαιογνωσίαν καὶ τὴν Κλασσικὴν Φιλολογίαν*. Athens, The Greek Society for Humanistic Studies and the Center for Classical Studies, 1967. Pp. xvi + 550. 300 drachmas.

Professor Vourveris, a student of the late Professor Werner Jaeger and professor of Greek at the University of Athens, is the founder and president of the Greek Society for Humanistic Studies and through his nationwide efforts throughout Greece is striving to make Greek classical studies particularly a living force in modern

Greek education and life by means of popular and scholarly publications and by nationally circulating lecturers and educational programs. The handbook under review is the result of some fifty years of classical teaching and research and is primarily directed at the students of the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens and young Greek philologians. Throughout Dr. Vourveris emphasizes the humanism of the Greeks and Romans and attempts to instill in his readers his own enthusiasm for the classics and classical scholarship. Trained in Germany as well as in Greece, Professor Vourveris is thoroughly immersed in the intricacies of European classical scholarship but also absolutely dedicated to the humanistic approach to the teaching and learning of the classics.

This massive *Introduction to Altertumswissenschaft and Classical Philology* is a superb piece of work and should be translated into English. It could be then made required reading of all classics majors and all first-year graduate students and could provide even the experienced classicist with the opportunity to pause, think, and review what classical philology is all about and to relive the profession of the classical philologist from antiquitv to the present. Philology, ancient Greek and Roman history, prehistoric and classical archaeology Professor Vourveris sees as constituting classical philology and he is very careful to define, discuss, and analyze the contents and methodology of each and how they all relate to *Altertumswissenschaft* and classical philology as a whole. Classical philology is an intellectual science (cf. Vourveris' book *Classical Philology as an Intellectual Science* [Athens, 1952], reviewed in *A.J.P.*, LXXV [1954], pp. 104-6) and has a clearly observable *modus operandi et interpretandi.* Beginning with a general discussion of the field of classical antiquity, its scope, nature, and interpretation as an intellectual discipline, and after a brief historical survey of the principal characteristics of Greek and Roman civilizations, he deals deftly with historical methodology, and historical synthesis and interpretation.

Classical philology itself is viewed in two possible ways: (1) the historical-phenomenological view, which stresses the classical languages in their grammatical and linguistic aspects and (2) the systematic-ousiological-deontological view that insists that language is an intellectual value of ancient life but that language is the bearer, the conveyor of intellectual and material values. Vourveris would insist, with Wilamowitz, that much more is involved here than mere language study, that the classical philologist is concerned with the written monuments of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds within the broader context of Greek and Roman civilization. Centripetal and centrifugal forces are at work but always a thorough mastery of the classical languages and literatures is essential, no matter in what direction the philologist may go. The philologist must know linguistic details but he must also have reliable texts and a knowledge of the historical conditions under which those texts were produced whether a formalist in the tradition of Herman or a realist in the tradition of Boeckh. He must be aware of forms of interpretation, including the proper use of translations; and the analytic and synthetic aspects of interpretation. Throughout this handbook the student is brought face to face with the ideas, methods,

and teachings of the great and significant classical scholars of the past and though many scholars may have disagreed vehemently with the way in which to approach a text, Vourveris sees in all of their approaches a fundamental unity in the work of interpretation in classical philology as a whole.

A very substantial part of the book (pp. 145-272) is taken up with a survey of the history of classical philology from ancient times, through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, to modern times (up to Werner Jaeger). Much handier to refer to than Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship,* this compact account is a natural companion to the 144 pages of discussion of classical philology as an intellectual science. Its only obvious lack is in not saying a word about American classical scholarship. The significant work of Italy, France, the Low Countries, England, and Germany is duly noted.

The final section of the volume (pp. 273-515) is a substantial bibliography that surveys bibliographical publications, encyclopedias, prosopographies, dictionaries, classical *altertumskunde,* archaeology, history, classical philology, Greek and Roman authors (author by author for text and interpretation), Greek and Roman grammarians, humanism, and journals. This is a more than adequate bibliography for a handbook of this sort and here even the latest American bibliographical references are duly noted. A word might also be said to indicate that there are two indices (one of proper names and another of terms) at the end of the volume and the table of contents is at the front in Greek and German (something that does not always occur in European publications).

Finally, it can be said that Professor Vourveris' introduction to *Altertumswissenschaft* and Classical Philology is a work produced with great love and fortified by thorough documentation that deserves wide circulation and attention.

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W. SIDNEY ALLEN. Vox Graeca. A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek. Cambridge, University Press, 1968. Pp. xvi + 157; 8 figs. and 1 pl. in text. $7.50.

Like its predecessor, *Vox Latina,* this is a compact and attractive volume. In combination, the two deal with the same topics that Edgar H. Sturtevant covered in his book, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2nd ed., 1940), and the main conclusions reached are fairly similar. The older book is still extremely valuable, particularly for its thorough sifting of statements made by the ancient grammarians and its firm control of Greek and Latin literary sources and inscriptions. Nonetheless, Allen's new books are bound to seem much more contemporary, and this is not merely due to their date of publication. Sturtevant was an excellent comparativist; Indo-European studies as well as classical philology benefited from

his contributions. I do not believe, however, that he was equally interested in the mechanics of language, despite the extraordinary development of structuralist theory and practice then taking place among his colleagues at Yale. Allen, on the contrary, is vitally concerned with present-day phonetics and phonemics, and his entire treatment of ancient pronunciation rests firmly upon theoretical linguistics and draws extensively upon parallel phenomena in other languages.

Allen, to be sure, disagrees with Sturtevant on a number of points: the most important is his denial (p. 28) that β, δ, and γ were aspirated, whence his claim, no doubt fully warranted, that the ancient term μέσα "simply indicates the writers' perplexity when faced with phenomena which were not describable within their favorite binary framework." He also doubts (p. 62) that Greek long [*i*:] was more open than the corresponding short vowel (as Sturtevant had tentatively suggested), discounting some of Sturtevant's examples (like χρῖσμα beside Fr. *crème*) with the *ad hoc* argument that the long vowel may have been more open after ρ; the evidence seems inconclusive either way. In this case he appeals to phonemic distribution in other languages, just as in similar fashion he rejects (p. 68) Sturtevant's claim that, since lengthened short [*e*] yielded the close mid long vowel [*ē*], the original short [*e*] was also close; "it is common," he remarks, "for long and short mid vowels to differ in quality."

True to his linguistics principles, Allen has been particularly informative in an area where Sturtevant offered little help: vowel-junction (pp. 90-6). His treatment of *correptio Attica* (pp. 100-5) is also illuminating and is summarized in an ingenious diagram (p. 105). There is an interesting contrast in emphasis between Sturtevant's account of Greek accent and Allen's (pp. 106-14); the latter will not commit himself either on the mysterious "middle tone" (mentioned e. g. by Aristotle) or on the closely related problem of the phonetic interpretation of grave accent.

It should be noted that Allen also intends his book to offer practical counsel to Greek teachers concerning the proper pronunciation of Greek. His eminently sensible suggestions are summarized in tabular form (pp. 155-7); to render the aspirates, for example, he proposes either true aspirates or fricatives, and he advises (p. 118) "albeit reluctantly" against any striving for pitch accent. American readers will find his Appendix A on the pronunciation of Greek in England (pp. 125-34) and the oral accentuation of Greek (pp. 134-44) entertaining although not wholly pertinent to the teaching of Greek in this country.

There are naturally many points on which some disagreement is possible. The only truly speculative pages are those arguing for a stress accent in Greek in addition to its tonal accent, in order thereby to account for the lack of correlation between written accent and metrical stress; it seems very odd that the ancient grammarians give us not the slightest hint of any such stress system. One would also like to see supporting evidence drawn from other languages with tonal accent. It is true that Oswald Szemerényi in a recent study (*Syncope in Greek and Indo-European*, 1964), while pre-

dicating tonal accent for Greek, has nonetheless found a number of cases of syncope, normally the effect of a stress accent. Szemerényi concluded only that tonal accent, about which we still have much to learn, might still produce occasional syncope. Allen goes far beyond this, and we can only await much fuller scientific testimony.

A few minor points: to say that the dialectal variation of modern Greek is "relatively slight compared with that of the Romance field" (p. vii) is perhaps true but misleading, for "relatively" still covers a considerable range; this is amply demonstrated by the texts edited by M. A. Triantafyllidēs in the Historical Introduction (Vol. I) to his projected grammar (Athens, 1938). Vowel patterns can of course fall into other patterns than quadrilateral or triangular (p. 4); a convenient discussion may be found in Chapter 15 (*Vowel Patterns*) of *Introductory Linguistics* (1964) by Robert A. Hall, Jr. Preconsonantal υι need not have been monophthongized to $\bar{\upsilon}$ prehistorically (p. 78); others have argued that the pronunciation as a diphthong continued through the Classical period.

Finally, I should note that *Vox Graeca* is well written and well printed. Despite its small compass it is crammed with information, some of which cannot be found elsewhere, and will be consulted with profit by all scholars interested in the best current appraisal of ancient Greek pronunciation.

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STEWART IRVIN OOST. Galla Placidia Augusta. A Biographical Essay. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1968. Pp. xiv + 346; map; 8 plates. $14.75.

Galla Placidia, as daughter of Theodosius I, half sister of Arcadius and Honorius, aunt of Theodosius II, wife of Constantius III, mother of Valentinian III, and at one time wife of Athaulf, King of the Visigoths, played a well-known role in the history of the Roman world in the crucial period of the decline of the government in the West. During the minority of her son she was the real ruler of the West (A.D. 425-437). In spite of the importance of her career and the interest of her personal life, no full length biography of Galla Placidia has been available in English. Professor Oost of the University of Chicago, long familiar with the sources for this period, has now supplied this lack, and in doing so has succeeded well in the unusual undertaking of writing for both the general reader and the professional reader at the same time. The material which will concern the scholar is discussed in footnotes which the general reader may skip, and there is a "prologue" which serves to introduce the non-professional reader to the problems of the Roman world at this epoch. Eight plates illustrate personages and events of the period, including the gold medallion of Galla Placidia in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

When a scholar writes with the expert knowledge of the sources

that Oost possesses, a reviewer may be permitted to offer some comments which are intended to improve certain details of a useful work. More could be said concerning Galla Placidia's use of the resources of official propaganda and imperial iconography in the publicizing of political concepts and in the creation of the public image of the ruler. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), pp. 24-6 (a passage cited by Oost, p. 18, n. 23, but without discussion of this point) calls attention to the importance of the coin-type used by Galla Placidia which shows the sovereign seated on a monumental throne facing the spectator. This coin-type, which is illustrated in the gold medallion of Galla Placidia printed by Oost, Pl. I, was important in the official iconography in emphasizing the majesty and power of the sovereign; cf. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XIV, 1963), pp. 204-8. P. 274: Grabar calls attention (pp. 28-9) to the political significance of the imperial portraits ordered by Galla Placidia for the Church of St. John the Evangelist at Ravenna. Pp. 269-70: On the meaning in Christian imperial iconography of the mosaic dedicated by Galla Placidia and Pope Leo I on the triumphal arch of the Church of Saint Paul-outside-the-walls at Rome, see Grabar, p. 210. Pp. 275-6: On the significance in Christian political thought of the symbolic juxtaposition of the figure of Christ and Concordia in the mosaic placed by Galla Placidia on the façade of the Church of the Holy Cross at Ravenna, see Grabar, p. 219, n. 3. Mention should also be made of the theme of the victorious Christ treading on wild beasts in another mosaic of the same church (Grabar, p. 238). C. Goubastoff, "Une pièce inédite d'Aelia Galla Placidia," *Monthly Numismatic Circular* (Spink and Son), no. 190, Sept. 1908, cols. 10872-3, cites a bronze coin minted at Aquileia with the portrait of Galla Placidia (AEL PLACIDIA AVG) on the obverse and, on the reverse, a figure of Victory and the inscription SALVS REI-PVBLICAE. Here Galla Placidia was making use of the widely employed traditional theme of the victoriousness of the ruler; see J. Gagé, "La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, XIII (1933), pp. 370-400. Galla Placidia's construction and adornment of churches (described by Oost, pp. 269 ff.) was not only an expression of personal piety but was a traditional function of the sovereign which formed an essential part of the official image of the Roman ruler in both pagan and Christian times; see D. J. Geanakoplos, "Church Building and 'Caesaropapism,' A. D. 312-565," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, VII (1966), pp. 167-86; G. T. Armstrong, "Imperial Church Building and Church-State Relations, A. D. 313-363," *Church History*, XXXVI (1967), pp. 3-17. Pp. 288-9, 294-5: On the correspondence between Theodosius II and Galla Placidia and other members of the family concerning the Monophysite debate precipitated by the "Robber Council" of Ephesus, A. D. 449, see F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (Washington, D. C., 1966), II, pp. 776-7.

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ERICH S. GRUEN. Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts, 149-78 B. C. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968. Pp. xii + 337. $11.50.

The thesis of this work is interesting and clearly put. The period 149-78 is considered as pivotal in that "the most fundamental changes in the Roman constitution and in political behavior were taking place"; in this slippery, involved world of senatorial discord and factional rivalries political trials were a principal mode of attack. Indeed these trials are better evidence "to discern the course of politics" than electoral contests.

Certainly political trials could be a center for contending forces in ancient Rome no less than in modern times; yet the thesis, at least in its extreme form, does not seem proven by the detailed investigation of specific cases. Our evidence as to the participants in trials is often thin; at times we cannot even be sure whether the defendant was found guilty or not. Attacks in court, as Gruen notes, might take place for personal, rather than really political, reasons (as was to be true in the Early Empire often); and the elimination of political foes could proceed, as in 121, by extra-legal methods. More significant, down to almost 100 B. C. political trials appear to have been rather spasmodic outbursts, such as the cases under the *lex Mamilia* of 109 (pp. 142 ff.)—on these see below—and again the era of Cinnan domination saw almost no such trials. Only for the 90's might one concur that "the courts were to play a central role" (p. 186) in any consecutive fashion, though even here Gruen finds that equestrian *iudices* were not willing to support senatorial vendettas in rendering their verdicts.

The author actually goes well beyond a careful study of the trials in his effort to create a connected tissue of political life at Rome in this era, in the sense of rivalries of men and factions for power and position. The investigation is detailed, and in its specific critiques and ample references will give considerable food for thought. The account brings out more general factors as well (cf. the fine opening paragraph on p. 185); yet a reader may uneasily feel that something is lacking, that the story sometimes becomes an intellectual puzzle rather than a panorama of real life. The fundamental source of this difficulty may be found in the Introduction, where Gruen weighs the pros and cons of using the prosopographical approach; he sees the difficulties inherent in the postulates of this approach, yet he cannot bring himself to reject it as completely as C. Meier did recently in *Res publica amissa*.

Examples of the difficulties which result may be useful. The author doubts the theory that the position of an aristocrat can be interpreted in terms of a continuous family policy (p. 50, n. 29); but later he seems to employ it in his explanations (e. g., pp. 64, 195), and a great deal of space is devoted to ferreting out family links. Again, he rejects the assumption that there was a *populares* party, as inconsistent with "the game of factional politics" (p. 95). Granted that we can find no traces of modern parties, still it is not easy to explain the popular support of Ti. Gracchus in terms of factions, despite the efforts which have been made in that direction; and Gruen dedicates no less than six pages to an analysis of the

situation in 133 before he introduces factions. Later, moreover, people who are *populares* do turn up (e. g., pp. 140, 163, 180, 188); the Mamilian trials themselves were, on Gruen's own interpretation, not primarily factional contests within the aristocracy but rather directed against the aristocracy as a whole, because the people was "sensitive and edgy" (p. 136). Elsewhere Gruen observes that "the old system tended to fall back into place" (p. 156) and that the upper classes very often closed ranks in times of emergency (pp. 57, 93-4, 187, 193-4). These characteristics of Roman political life are not easily to be explained within the framework of ideas involved in the dominant concept of factions. Let me be clear: factions did exist, no doubt, but an approach which places them so relentlessly in the foreground restricts too narrowly our view.

The study is based almost entirely on the literary and epigraphic sources, which have been very well surveyed. Toward the ancient personalities involved Gruen is objective execpt in his interesting dislike for Sulla; the modern literature has been carefully examined. The undoubted ability of the author has, unfortunately, been confined in Symian prose, which at rare points becomes colloquial; "quote" apparently has become a noun for university presses too. The bibliography is extensive; the index covers mainly proper names and the *quaestiones*, the origins of which are carefully explored. Typographical errors are few and easily corrected, but the sentence beginning "Polybius" on p. 45 has lost one or more words.

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ANDRÉ PELLICER. Natura. Étude sémantique et historique du mot latin. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1966. Pp. 524. Fr. 44. (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Montpellier,* XXVII.)

Dr. André Pellicer presents the history of *natura* in a work that is discerning, thorough, and rich in details. The search for an original meaning proves to be futile (p. 74). "Inborn qualities," an early sense related to the meanings of the cognates *natus* and *natio*, may well be a principal source of other meanings (p. 76). Plautus', Terence's, and Cato's uses of *natura* support this theory. The meaning "inborn qualities" is found in *Eun.*, 316; and of the other six occurrences of the word in Terence, four have meanings closely connected with that signification. *Natura* appears only twice in all of Plautus; and once, in *Trin.*, 812, it denotes "character"; whether "inborn" or not is uncertain (pp. 45-7, 54). In Cato, Plautus, and Terence, *natura*, meaning "qualities," always refers to something living and usually to a human being (p. 52).

The greatest semantic development of *natura* probably occurred in the second half of the second century B. C. (p. 56). This development was strongly influenced by φύσις (pp. 17-39). The meaning "inborn qualities" coincided with a basic meaning of

φύσις (pp. 76, 141). New meanings of *natura* evolved until, by the time of Cicero's youth, the word had come to be felt as equivalent to φύσις (p. 400). So when a Roman wished to express a concept which was expressed by φύσις but for which there was no Latin word, he would resort to *natura*. Sometimes *natura* was used in a new sense even when a Latin word with the required meaning was available (p. 399). Between the time of Cicero's youth and the time of Apuleius there are no important developments in the semantic history of *natura* (p. 413).

Outstanding chapters of this excellent book are the fourth, on *natura* as universal nature, and the fifth, on *natura* as cause. Φύσις was the principal source of these meanings; earlier senses of *natura* were perhaps a secondary source (pp. 229, 281-3). Pellicer points out how complex these meanings are, and how they often defy analysis (pp. 239, 242, 311-18).

Though the less abstruse senses of *natura*, too, are sometimes far from transparent, nearly all of Pellicer's interpretations are convincing. This reviewer disagrees, however, with his comment (p. 170) on Cic., *Mil.*, 101: *His lacrimis non commovetur Milo . . . mortem naturae finem esse, non poenam.* Pellicer thinks that *naturae* is equivalent to *naturalem* and means "conforming to nature." It seems to me that here, and also in Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos lib.*, 8, 30 (discussed, p. 170) *natura* has the same sense as φύσις has in Democ., fr. 297 (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, ed. 3): ἔνιοι θνητῆς φύσεως διάλυσιν οὐκ εἰδότες ἄνθρωποι, συνειδήσει δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ κακοπραγμοσύνης, τὸν τῆς βιοτῆς χρόνον ἐν ταραχαῖς καὶ φόβοις ταλαιπωρέουσι, ψεύδεα περὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν μυθοπλαστέοντες χρόνου. The same use of φύσις occurs in Isoc., 2, 37: Μὴ περίδῃς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν ἅπασαν ἅμα διαλυθεῖσαν. John W. Beardslee, *The Use of φύσις in Fifth Century Greek Literature* (Chicago, 1918) cites these Greek passages (pp. 15 and 18) and comments that φύσις refers to "the physical union of soul and body, the separation of which causes death."

In the light of these four passages, it seems that Pellicer's criticism of Forcellini for including *vita* among the definitions of *natura* (p. 170) is not valid.

Chapter VIII discusses the use of *natura* in the various types of literature. Pellicer makes the interesting observation (p. 478) that the word is sometimes used pretentiously, and vaguely, for ornamentation, and that modern writers have so used its derivatives almost to the present day.

If this work has a fault, it is diffuseness. Yet the presentation is logical; and the reader should be grateful for repetitions that save him from looking up cross-references. There are occasional minor misprints. A bibliography and a detailed table of contents complete the book.

ALICE F. BRAUNLICH.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

GÖRAN SÖRBOM. Mimesis and Art: Studies in the Origin and Early Development of an Aesthetic Vocabulary. Uppsala, Svenska Bokförlaget, 1966. Pp. 217.

A concept so fundamental to Greek aesthetic theory as *mimesis* surely deserves a monograph to itself, and this is what Sörbom has attempted to provide. But intentions are sometimes different from the results to which they lead, and what the author has produced is not a coherent account of a concept, but a painstaking series of glosses on almost every occurrence of "words belonging to the *mimeisthai*-group" in the fifth century (63 occurrences then, apparently none earlier), Plato, and Aristotle.

Sörbom begins by rejecting two recent theories of the "basic" meaning of *mimesis*, that it was "expression" (Ausdruck), chiefly by means of music and dance (H. Koller, *Dissertationes Bernenses*, 1954), or that it means "originally a 'miming' or mimicking of a person or animal by means of voice and/or gesture" (G. F. Else, *C. P.*, 1958, p. 87). To these Sörbom opposes his own view that the root meaning of *mimeisthai* in non-aesthetic contexts (44 out of the 63 occurrences before Xenophon and Plato) is "to behave like a mime actor." Some of the passages he discusses clearly admit of such an interpretation (e. g., *Frogs*, 108 ff., where Dionysus is "dressed up to mimic" Heracles), but in others Sörbom has to wrench the words—sometimes rather violently—out of their obvious meaning. To import mime-actors into the Phocian dialect of *Cho.*, 560 ff. (p. 28), the wolf-gait of *Rhes.*, 208 ff. (pp. 28-9), or Cambyses' lettuce at Hdt., III, 32 (p. 36), seems gratuitous, if not downright grotesque. And Sörbom himself offers several more acceptable reformulations in the course of his discussion: "exhibiting something in order to deceive by means of typical traits" (p. 30), or "conscious and deliberate patterning on the model of something else" (p. 34).

Some fifth-century uses of the term are more amenable to the "overt performance" interpretation than others. The fact is that a stubborn residuum is not, which seems to show that "to mimic" is not as wide in its extension as μιμεῖσθαι. Sörbom is clearly on the right track with his discussion of "naturalized" (i. e., dead) metaphor (pp. 38-40), but he does not carry it far enough. For to trace the history of the concept adequately, we would like to know how strongly and at what times the metaphorical sense of the term was still felt by its users in nonaesthetic contexts, and by what stages this metaphorical sense weakened or "faded"; we would then be in a better position to evaluate the residual metaphorical overtones (if any) in the aesthetic contexts, where our main interest naturally lies.

Sörbom turns to a detailed discussion of the 19 occurrences in aesthetic contexts before Xenophon. Once again, not all of his interpretations are persuasive. Else's view, that the ταυρόφθογγοι μῖμοι of Aeschylus, fr. 57 N² (= 71 Mette) are the instruments known as "bull-roarers" for producing sound-effects, seems preferable to Sörbom's, that the phrase denotes the "performers of the bullish sounds" (p. 54). The fact that (as Sörbom himself admits, p. 53) these *mimoi* were *ex hypothesi* offstage would seem to weaken

his contention that the word invariably denotes an "actor" or "performer." In several of these passages Sörbom insists that the term bear a connotation of "vividness and intensity," and this leads him to far-fetched interpretations of such straightforward uses as Pindar, fr. 94 b, line 15 and fr. 107 a (Snell). In the latter fragment we are told to interpret Πελασγὸν ἵππον ἢ κύνα Ἀμυκλάιαν ἀγωνίῳ ἐλελιζόμενος ποδὶ μίμεο as "Make a vivid and concrete image, as in the mimes, of the Pelasgian horse or the Amyclaean hound as you whirl" (p. 63). This strikes me as nonsense, and pretentious nonsense at that. Herodotus describes Apries' tomb as παστὰς . . . ἠσκημένη στύλοισί τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι (II, 169, 5). Sörbom comments: "Since there are no Egyptian columns that are 'portraits' of particular palm trees, *mimeisthai* need not imply, here, a strict correspondence of properties between particular palm trees and the columns but rather that the columns are intended to exhibit an idea of palm trees by means of qualities that are recognized as similar to the 'species-characteristic' qualities of palm trees" (p. 67). Surely Rawlinson's ". . . with pillars carved so as to resemble palm-trees" is all that the passage needs to explain it. The serpents who are called Ἐριχθονίου . . . τοῦ πάλαι μιμήματα at Eur., *Ion*, 1429 are in an exactly parallel case. What is to be gained from interpreting them, with Sörbom, as "things that also [i. e., as well as being 'imitations'] and primarily show or exhibit Erichtonius' snakes" (pp. 69-70)?

Sörbom proceeds to "Xenophon on Artistic Mimesis" (pp. 78-98). The bulk of this section he devotes to a translation and commentary on *Mem.*, II, 10, 1-8, in which Socrates defines painting as "an image-making (εἰκασία, clearly synonymous with μίμησις) of the things we see with our eyes": painters and sculptors work by "collecting from many individuals what is most beautiful in each," including in the finished product a *mimesis* of ἦθος, and giving to it a certain "lifelike quality" (τὸ ζωτικόν). In passing, Sörbom gives a useful discussion of the differences between ἐκμιμεῖσθαι, ἀπεικάζειν, and ἀφομοιοῦν (p. 83, n. 14).

The author to whom most space is allotted in the survey is—not surprisingly—Plato. Sörbom discusses the relevant sections of *Cratylus* (pp. 106 ff.; he does his best to elucidate the difficult passage *Crat.*, 434 B-C [pp. 113-15]), *Republic*, II, III (pp. 117 ff., with some enlightening comments on *Rep.*, 398 D ff., the mimetic effects of *melos*, pp. 125-8), and X (pp. 129 ff.). Sörbom is at his best here, in his analysis of what is surely the heart of Plato's doctrine of *mimesis*. He surveys the interpretations of earlier scholars (pp. 133 ff.); successfully combats the view that Plato held a theory of "flat realism" (p. 139); absolves Plato of any confusion between the "ideas" and the "ideal types" which contemporary art apparently strove to represent (pp. 142 ff.); and rightly emphasizes the practical, or reformist, tendencies of Plato's view on art (pp. 146 ff.). He reminds us that Plato was criticizing not poetry as such, but the current practice of particular poets (p. 148), and he attempts to reconcile the strictures on poetry in *Rep.* II and III with those in X (pp. 149-51). His analysis of the relevant sections of *Sophist* (pp. 152 ff.) and *Laws* (pp. 163 ff.) is less successful, for it has little light to throw on these obscure passages.

The last section is devoted to Aristotelian *mimesis* (pp. 176-203). Sörbom grapples with the difficult doctrine that music is "mimetic of character" (pp. 181 ff.); he elucidates Aristotle's meaning by an apt reference to the parallel discussion at *Problems*, XIX, 27, 29 [919 b-920 a] (p. 185). He offers his own interpretation of the confusing passage, *Poetics*, 1447 a 8-18, on the medium of artistic *mimesis* (pp. 188-9). The study ends with a *Retrospect*, in which the author concludes that "the aesthetic sense [of *mimesis*] developed during Plato's and Xenophon's lifetime without making the general sense obsolete" (p. 206). There is a brief *Index verborum*, and a useful, because apparently complete, *Index locorum*.

Some may find it helpful to be led carefully through the occurrences of "words belonging to the *mimeisthai*-group" in this way, but one may wonder whether yet another laborious trek through such well-trodden linguistic terrain can be justified, especially in light of the Protean quarry being hunted, the "basic" meaning of *mimesis*, to which all known uses can be assimilated, or (worse) from which they are forcibly derived. Perhaps it is better to admit that, as with other aesthetically "loaded" terms at other periods, the Greek term seems to have had a more or less easily recognizable *field* of applications, from *copy, performance*, through *expression, interpretation, representation*, to *mimicry, pretense* (and, of course, *imitation*). What one misses most of all is a comprehensive, less detailed, view that could extract from the minutiae a *pattern* to explain how and why *mimesis* became such an all-pervasive and multiform concept in the Greek aesthetic. Along these lines, there can now be added to Sörbom's full Bibliography (pp. 214-18) G. M. A. Grube, *How Did the Greeks Look at Literature* (Cincinnati, 1967), pp. 22 ff. (on Plato) and D. W. Lucas, *Appendix I* "Mimesis" in *Aristotle, Poetics* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 258-72.

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OTTO SKUTSCH. Studia Enniana. University of London, the Athlone Press, 1968. Pp. x + 204.

The series of articles which Professor Skutsch began with "Enniana I" in 1944 and terminated with "Enniana VI" twenty years later is now indispensable reading for all students of the *Annals*. Although all of them first appeared in a journal readily accessible to classical scholars, the *Classical Quarterly*, it is no small convenience to find them reprinted in the present volume in their chronological order.

[4] A partial list of plus-verses without parallel in Homer includes B′ 794a, 855a, and Γ′ 302a (in þ 40); Θ′ 197a, 199a, 252a, b (in þ 7); Λ′ 509a, 514a (in þ 8); Σ′ 606a (in þ 51); Χ′ 99a, 392a, Ψ′ 183a (in þ 12); α′ 92a (in þ 22); ε′ 24a, 32b, 111a, 259a (in þ 30) and ν′ 51a, 58a (in þ 19).

Moreover, the "Enniana" are preceded by Skutsch's inaugural lecture on the *Annals* delivered at University College, London in 1951 and published in 1953, and are followed by nine more articles. Of these the first two have not been published before: "On the Proems of *Annals* I and VII" and "Romulus and Quirinus" (in the latter Skutsch argues convincingly that Ennius in the *Annals* treats Quirinus as a god before the death of Romulus). The remaining seven first appeared in various learned publications between 1953 and 1967. Two have been translated from German into English, one is left in the original Latin. Four are concerned with the *Annals* and three with Ennian tragedy. In his Preface Skutsch states, "I have removed what was wrong and have added what seemed relevant, marking such changes only where an acknowledgment was due, or where I felt it necessary to reply to criticism." These corrections and additions are chiefly contained in postscripts to three articles. The book is equipped with two indices of passages treated in the text (those from Ennius and those from other authors) and a General Index.

There are only a few scholars who have devoted themselves consistently and profitably to the study of "the father of Roman poetry" during the last three decades. No one of them has contributed more than Skutsch to our understanding of the *Annals* through a meticulous, learned, and sensitive treatment of the remaining fragments. It has long been known that he has been working to produce a complete new edition of the *Annals*, certainly one of the most urgent desiderata in Latin studies today. The distinguished treatment of the *disiecti membra poetae* contained in the present volume can be taken as a harbinger of the new edition, its *pulcherruma praepes laeva avis*.

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AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XCI, 4 WHOLE NO. 364

THE IRONIC PRIEST.

Propertius' "Roman Elegies," III, 1-5: Imitations of Horace and Vergil.

F. Solmsen tentatively considered these elegies as forming a unit on the grounds that, in III, 1-5, Propertius is more interested in his status as a poet of love than with love itself.[1] There is abundant testimony that Propertius composed them as a block. With respect to their lengths, III, 1 and 5 are rather long at either end (38 and 48 verses), III, 2 and 4 are relatively short (26 and 22 verses), and III, 3, the longest (52 verses), stands at the center. As III, 1 and 2 present contrasting moods—of patriotic enthusiasm followed by personal philosophy divergent from this enthusiasm—so do III, 4 and 5, on the other side of III, 3 (*arma deus Caesar*, III, 4, 1; *pacis Amor deus est*, 5, 1). Elegy III, 3 occupies a place of special prominence: in a solemn scene, Propertius allows us to observe the communication of that creative inspiration in which he partakes. The questions in the first lines of Book III receive answer. Further, III, 1-5 are bound together by common motifs;[2] and as 1 opens with a rejection of *arma* (1, 7), so does 5 conclude with a similar rejection (5, 47-8), while 1 begins with a triumph scene (1, 9-13) and 5 finishes with an allusion to the triumphant return of the standards of Crassus. This

[1] F. Solmsen, "Propertius and Horace," *C.P.*, XLIII (1948), p. 105.
[2] W. R. Nethercut, "Ille Parum Cauti Pectoris Egit Opus," *T.A.P.A.*, XCII (1961), pp. 389-407.

order emphasizes the central antithesis of the group: in 1 Propertius' Muse (one of Peace) is triumphing; in 5 he dissociates himself from a triumph obtained by *arma.*

There is good evidence that it is Horace whose example Propertius emulates in III, 1-5. Not only have critics long likened what appears to be the analysis of social deterioration in Propertius III, 13-14 to Horace's social commentary in his third book of Odes (e. g. in *C.*, III, 6), but many verbal echoes recall Horace in the first five elegies particularly.[3] Especially striking here is the appearance of *sacerdos,* for the first time in Propertius' work,[4] in verse 3 of III, 1—i. e. in precisely the position Horace employed the term (*C.*, 1, 3), also in the third book of his poems. Both Propertius' Book III and Horace's third book appeared at about the same time, 23 B. C. Here it is pleasing to observe that just as Horace's Roman Odes are six in number and constitute, as a result, one-fifth of the third book with its thirty poems, so are Propertius, III, 1-5 one-fifth of the twenty-five elegies in Book III.[5] Finally, just as *C.*, III, 6, the last of

[3] Several scholars have approached the question of Propertius' literary relationship to Horace with a view to singling out individual lines, words, or thoughts common to both. See W. Wili, "Die literarischen Beziehungen des Properz zu Horaz," *Festschrift Tièche* (Bern, 1947), p. 181. F. Dornseiff, "Horaz und Properz," *Philologus,* LXXXVII (1932), pp. 473-6, is more interested in general similarities of situation and tone than in word-to-word correspondences (e. g. he comments on the likeness Propertius, IV, 6, 1 bears to Horace, *C.*, III, 1, 1). Again, Butler and Barber *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933), p. xxiv, list Propertius, III, 1, 4 as similar to *C.*, III, 30, 1-2; Propertius, III, 2, 23-4 and *C.*, III, 30, 3-5; Propertius, III, 2, 25 and *C.*, III, 30, 15. These are linked, in some cases, not only by similarity of thought, but by the common use of at least one word. Wili (p. 181) rightly argues against Butler and Barber's theory that Horace disliked Propertius for this "plagiarism" ("Eine solche Plagiat-Feindschaft ist nämlich gänzlich un-Augusteisch; man plagiiert nicht in feindlichem Sinn"), and goes on to show that, in at least one place (*C.*, II, 12) Horace may have been influenced by Propertius' conception of a *recusatio* (Propertius, II, 1).

[4] *Sacerdos* occurs once elsewhere in Propertius, IV, 9, 51. The connection with Horace is noted by S. Commager, *The Odes of Horace* (New Haven, 1962), p. 16, n. 27, among others.

[5] I am indebted to Prof. Thomas A. Suits of the University of Connecticut for this observation.

Horace's set of six, is 48 verses long, so is Propertius, III, 5, the last of his group, the only elegy in Book III which has 48 lines.

The degree of humor present in Propertius' borrowing from Horace has not been fully appreciated. A confrontation of Propertius III, 2, 17-24 with Horace, *C.*, III, 30, 1-7, in both of which six key words are found, reveals that where Horace writes of his *monumentum* as rising higher than the pyramids and overshadowing them in scope, Propertius stresses that the pyramids can not truly be said to go free from death. Rain does erode them, as does time's passage.[6] In the lines directly preceding Propertius' refutation of material marvels as safeguards against oblivion, III, 2, 11-16, the elegist protests that he will have no part in a residence propped high with Doric columns; again we are led to think of Horace, who, in *C.*, III, 1, 45-6, would have nothing to do with an atrium elaborate with columns reared high "in the modern style" (*nouo ritu*). That both authors refer to columns may be coincidental: columns might well be a common feature of abodes of the rich. Yet we should not ignore the emphasis on height, which is in both writers and which Horace states is contemporary fashion. Also, Horace ends the first Roman Ode with *operosiores* (verse 48); he uses it here initially in his Odes. Propertius employs this adjective for the only time in his first three books in III, 2, 14, when he refers to the service to which the Aqua Marcia was being put (*operosa antra*). The irony is this: Propertius reminds Horace that at one point he had said how little he cared for the burden of wealth and imposing structures; yet now, at the end of Book III, Horace is leaving us with a great structure symbolizing the wealth of a rich nation, built by the richest lords and kings Horace could conceive! This disparity, emerging as it does between the opening and concluding statements of a single unit of Horace's output, is the more striking.

The foregoing does much to instruct our reaction to Propertius the priest. In III, 1 he has moved beyond the limits of

[6] W. R. Nethercut, "Vergil and Horace in Bucolic 7," *C. W.*, LXII (1968), pp. 96, 98. The repeated words are *monumentum* and *pyramidum* in two successive lines, *imber, diruere* (*ruere*), *annorum, mors* (*moriar*).

Book II: he will sing, not of Cynthia alone, but for the whole state. Rome is addressed in III, 1, 15-18 (*Roma . . . quod pace legas, opus hoc . . . detulit pagina nostra*). And in III, 2 Propertius seems truly an apostle of integrity and moderation, earnestly devoted, like Horace, to sober counsel for his city. We think of the close of III, 1 (35-6):

> Meque inter seros laudabit Roma nepotes:
> illum post cineres auguror ipse diem.

Auguror falls with special weight, coming only once in Propertius;[7] standing three lines from the end, it balances *sacerdos* in III, 1, 3. Yet, if Propertius speaks prophetically of obtaining praise from Rome's descendants, we should not therefore be convinced that he has moved far from the position he maintained in I, 6, 29-30:

> Non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis:
> hanc me militiam fata subire uolunt.

It is safer to remember one earlier occasion on which the poet foresaw future renown (II, 15, 47-8):

> Haec certe merito poterunt laudare minores:
> laeserunt nullos pocula nostra deos.

Even so, III, 2 is owed less to sincere concern over moral decay, it would appear, than to the author's desire wittily to reprove Horace for the contradiction his endorsement of what was great in size forced upon such a champion of humility.

In another sense, Horace is quite consistent. That he could look upon the pyramids with secret awe (he assigns them a positive value when he uses their eclipse as a measure of his own poetry) is not surprising in a man who could favor national projects like a Parthian expedition to bring back Crassus' standards. The Parthian venture in particular is at point in Propertius' critique of Horace in these elegies. Again he brings to the fore the connection with a Roman Ode. In *C.*, III, 5, 5-12 Horace declares himself indignant that Crassus' men had been allowed to stay on in the East, taking foreign wives and forgetting the ways of Rome and the Senate. Horace names Crassus

[7] *Auguro* is found but once in Vergil, *A.*, VIII, 273. It is absent from Horace.

only here in his Odes. In III, 4, 9-10, Propertius heralds a propitious outcome for this undertaking:

> Omnia fausta cano. Crassos clademque piate!
> ite et Romanae consulite historiae!

but quickly adds that it will be his pleasure to watch the triumph resting against the breasts of his mistress. And III, 5 ends (47-8) with a curt:

> Vos, quibus arma
> grata magis, Crassi signa referte domum.

Nor is a smile at Horace's expense lacking in III, 3, 15-16. If Maecenas asked one to compose something substantial about Roman power:

> Quis te
> carminis heroi tangere iussit opus?

how elegant to demur, recalling the golden moderation of a close friend of the state![8] In III, 3, 23-4:

> Alter remus aquas alter tibi radat harenas,
> tutus eris: medio maxima turba mari est,

Propertius turns Horace's many pronouncements about the Mean back on him (cf. *C.*, II, 10, 1-4: *rectius uiues, Licini*). Here we have a good example of Propertian whimsy: little

[8] The customary view of Maecenas' influence upon the writers he gathered about him has been that he considered it his function gradually and patiently to bring any recalcitrant member of his group closer to the ideals and program of the New Order. E. g., E. Paratore, *L'Elegia III, 11 e gli attegiamenti politici di Properzio* (Palermo, 1936), pp. 148-9. A. Dalzell, "Maecenas and the Poets," *Phoenix*, X (1956), pp. 151-62, maintains there was no real political game involved with Maecenas' circle. Patronage was essential in Rome, and so the poets who chose Maecenas did so out of consideration for his contacts. Yet A. Oltramare, "Auguste et les Parthes," *R.E.L.*, XVI (1938), pp. 121-38, shows that the frequency with which Maecenas' poets mention a Parthian campaign varies in relation to Augustus' desire to keep the country looking together toward the East where much might yet be accomplished, but also with regard to his realization that practical realities made it more expedient to postpone any commitment of forces. When it suited the Princeps' purpose, the poets began to raise the possibility of an invasion; when he wanted this laid to rest, no mention is made of it.

would Horace have expected to find his plea for prudence in the management of life used to justify the refusal of a talented poet to involve himself in political writing which could benefit the country.

Scrutiny of moments elsewhere in Book III when Propertius appears most to resemble Horace reveals a similar subtle dimension. An outstanding instance is provided by III, 14. This elegy and that preceding it contrast corruption in Rome with the pristine vigor of Sparta, and they have been cited to show the poet's new-found maturity and the development of a commitment to Augustus' moral program.[9] In his Second Roman Ode, Horace spoke seriously of the need for Rome's youth to train rigorously and to harden their bodies for war. Horace's boys must endure hardship (*pauperiem pati, C.*, III, 2, 1); *patior* is used of the Spartan girl in that "awful contest," the pancration. Propertius' *uirgines* and Horace's young men are to become expert with horses (Propertius, III, 14, 11, and Horace, *C.*, III, 2, 4).

But for what, precisely, is Propertius praising Sparta's maids? *Not* for chastity. Instead, he commends their readiness to disrobe and to "take up arms" with men. This latter image, in elegiac parlance, does little to underline continence. If one pauses to reflect on the pun latent in *pugnas* at the end of III, 14, or thinks of Helen's failure to blush when she exposed her breasts to "battle" (*nudis capere arma papillis*, III, 14, 19), Elegy III, 14 stands suddenly clarified as a masterpiece of irony. What could be more fun for an elegist than to set the scene in Sparta—conventionally a symbol of restraint and sublimation—and then to fill the stage with naked women in various military postures amidst "struggling" men (*inter luctantis nuda puella uiros*, III, 14, 4)? The point III, 14 makes after III, 13 has nothing to do with moral reform as Augustus may have envisioned it: in III, 13 the Roman girl is inaccessible to her lover; the Spartan girl is praised, on the other hand, for her fondness for "sport." There is no discontinuity between the *sacerdos* who would inflame Rome's youth with love (III, 9, 45-6):

[9] E. g. H. Bardon, *Les Empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris, 1940), pp. 75-6.

Haec urant pueros, haec urant scripta puellas,
meque deum clament et mihi sacra ferant![10]

and the writer of III, 14, who wears a merry, not a dour, mask.

Between the opening and concluding elegies of III, 1-5, Propertius presents himself in three different roles. We have already discussd him as "Horace" in III, 2. In Elegy III, 3 he appears as an anti-Ennius. Elegy III, 1, 15-20 have prepared us for the contrast:

Multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent,
qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent.
sed, quod pace legas, opus hoc de monte Sororum
detulit intacta pagina nostra uia.
mollia, Pegasides, date uestro serta poetae:
non faciet capiti dura corona meo.

The word *annales* (*annalibus*, 15) occurs only here in Propertius, and it brings to mind the title of Ennius' work—a reference strengthened by *detulit* (18) and *corona* (20), which appear in Lucretius, I, 117-19, where Ennius is said to have been "the first to bear down from Helicon a crown of leaves ever fresh to shine brightly throughout the people of Italy."[11] Also, the last four words of III, 1, 24, *maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora uenit,* while not as direct an echo as Vergil's *uolitare per ora* (*G.*, III, 9), are nonetheless suggestive of Ennius' epitaph. In III, 1 Propertius has brought a work for peace to replace the martial strains of Ennius, who, before the elegist, had visited Helicon.

In III, 3 the equation is more explicit. The introductory verses of this poem reproduce the situation at the beginning of the *Annales.* In both, the poet is asleep.[12] In both, a supernatural figure associated with poetry addresses him.[13] Epic

[10] These lines answer Horace, *C.*, III, 1, 2-4:

Carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
uirginibus puerisque canto.

[11] Ennius ut noster cecinit, qui primus amoeno
detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde *coronam*
per gentis Italas hominum quae clara clueret.

[12] E. H. Warmintgon, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb Classical Library, Harvard, 1957), I, 4: "somno leni placidoque reuinctus" (fr. 4).

[13] *Ibid.*, "uisus Homerus adesse poeta" (fr. 5). A similar scene began Callimachus' *Aitia.*

poetry is glorified in each case, and in both we find *uisus*. Propertius is about to drink from the source Ennius tasted (III, 3, 5-6):

> Paruaque tam magnis admoram fontibus ora,
> unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit

when Apollo stops him and warns him not to stray too far from shore. The god then shows him a secret cave where doves dip their bills in the Gorgon pool (III, 3, 31-2):

> Et Veneris dominae uolucres, mea turba, columbae
> tingunt Gorgoneo punica rostra lacu.

Calliope then cautions Propertius not to concern himself with war, but to sing of peace. At the poem's end, he drinks from the water of Philetas.

The water of Philetas is drawn from the *lacus* where Propertius sees the doves drinking.[14] Commentators have been puzzled as to opposing elements Propertius takes care to contrast in the scene. Wimmel explains 31-2 as follows: the doves represent the poet's commitment to one kind of composition; they are said to be "his" (*mea turba*). Yet they are now pictured touching their bills to water Propertius characterizes as flowing from Hippocrene, whence Ennius drank (*Gorgoneo lacu*). This makes it clear that we can expect the poet to write jointly of situations suited for carefully-spun, erotic verse, and of more heroic themes. Roman poetry is to be included in Propertius' plans, but he will remain an elegist first.[15] Elegy III, 3 is an initial step on the way to such thoroughly Roman, yet completely personal utterances as Propertius, IV, 1; Horace, *Ep.*, 2, 1; and Ovid, *A.*, III, 1.[16]

[14] G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (London, 1959), p. 133, notes that Philetas' water is described as a *fons* in III, 3, 51; this may seem ill to accord with the quiet water the doves taste. He argues that *fons* refers to the water as a source of inspiration, but that there are two approaches to it, which Propertius describes here: the higher point at which the water gushes violently forth (Ennius' stream), and the little pool where the water collects aside from and below the central exit of the fount.

[15] W. Wimmel, "Kallimachos in Rom," *Hermes Einzelschriften*, XVI (1960), pp. 242-3.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

To argue that Propertius will stay an *elegist* really evades the issue. He is told expressly by Calliope to remain a love poet and to keep off martial themes. Besides, he does not sing of war in Book III, with the possible exception of III, 11. And yet it does appear that Propertius elected specially to stress the relation of the *lacus* in 32 to the flow of water sprung from Pegasus' hoof: *Gorgoneus* is found nowhere else in the corpus. It is significant that the adjective *punicus* (this variation for *puniceus* coming only here in Propertius) is strikingly juxtaposed with *Gorgoneus*, which alludes to the horse and battle. In verses 9-12 Ennius is remembered chiefly for his description of Rome's struggles with Carthage. May not *punicus*, in view of the verses given to the Punic Wars, recall the Phoenicians and the Roman poet who sang of their defeat?

As an "anti-Ennius," Propertius, too, has his "Punic" battles. The adjective emphasizes that the elegist engages in warfare, but the precise nature of this warfare is symbolized by the doves. In other words, *punica* offers us another brilliant example of Propertian humor, as it replaces the subject of Ennius' *Annales* with the gentle turmoil of Love. As Venus' doves drink from the pool, Propertius is reminded that many campaigns have already been prepared for him. We shall not stray too far, if we see in the "Punic" bills of the *columbae* one more artful variation of the conceit through which the *castra* of one's mistress is opposed to that of one's leader.

L. P. Wilkinson has argued that, in III, 4, Propertius is deeply ironical, that in his sudden switch from invoking Rome directly as her priest (III, 4, 7-10) to reclining in his lover's lap, he brings out more forcefully than ever how much of a patriot he was not![17] There is much to support Wilkinson's approach. Principally, we should note the literary frame of reference to which this elegy can be related.

In III, 2 Propertius came forward as a second Horace; in III, 3 he dreamed, like Ennius, and was given divine guidance. Elegy III, 4 is rich with allusions to Vergil:

Arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos (1).

[17] L. P. Wilkinson, "Propertius III, 4," *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni* (Firenze, 1960), II, pp. 1093-1103.

It is tempting to think that *arma*, with which the poem begins, echoes the opening of the *Aeneid*;[18] it is the only time Propertius uses this word to start an elegy. Likewise, the phrase *omina fausta cano* (III, 4, 9) appears Vergilian: the first person singular of *canere* is found only here in Propertius in the indicative, and not at all in Horace. Lines 19-20, which invoke Venus and mention her offspring Aeneas, remind us of the *Aeneid*:

> Ipsa tuam serua prolem, Venus: hoc sit in aeuum,
> cernis ab Aenea quod superesse caput.

Caput is common in epic diction (e. g. *A.*, IV, 354, of Ascanius, or 613, of Aeneas). And *labores*, at the end of the hexameter in verse 21, may be a reminiscence of Vergil: a confrontation of Wetmore's Index and the text of Vergil will show that this word appears 28 times in the poet, and on each of these occasions it will be found as the last word in the hexameter.[19]

But how Propertius has changed Vergil! Where we should read *arma uirum*, we find *arma deus*. It is unlikely that *deus*, which is applied only here to Augustus in the first three books, can be explained by supposing that Propertius used the word inadvertently without realizing what he was about. Caesar has become a god in Propertius' poem, something more even than Aeneas in Vergil's verse. The identification of Aeneas with Hercules in the *Aeneid*[20] can be related to the Princeps' wish

[18] Of course we cannot be certain that, at the time III, 4 was written, there had been talk about eliminating the lines "Ille ego qui quondam . . . Martis." Nisus the Grammarian (so Donatus and Servius) heard that Varius corrected these when he edited the epic after Vergil's death. A later reference to the opening of the *Aeneid* as we have it seems somewhat more surely established: "*Arma* graui numero uiolentaque bella parabam" is the way Ovid opens *Amores*, I, 1. In line 5 he concludes: "Pieridum uates, non tua turba sumus." The words *tua turba* can be traced to Vergil, *E.*, 1, 57—cf. W. R. Nethercut, "Vergil's Dove" *C. B.*, XLI (1965), pp. 65-8. By deft indirection Ovid denies that he belongs with Vergil as a writer of heavy verse.

[19] Put more exactly, *labores*, since it follows mention of Venus and Aeneas directly, seems strongly to implicate Vergil. That it appears in the position it does at the end of the line is, actually, of little consequence itself. The word rounds out a hexameter naturally, and every other time it occurs in Propertius, it is used in the same place (I, 1, 9; 6, 23; II, 17, 7; 23, 7; 24, 29). The same is true for *labores*, *laborem*, and to some extent of *laborum* in Horace.

[20] Abundant literature on the Aeneas-Hercules association exists.

to be seen as a second Hercules.[21] By this it was implied that Augustus' central role was one of service, of toil against great obstacles for the state, as a result of which he would have earned divinity. In his Fifth Roman Ode, Horace lends support to this sequence of labor followed by apotheosis (III, 5, 1-4):

> Caelo tonantem credidimus Iouem
> regnare; praesens diuus habebitur
> Augustus adiectis Britannis
> imperio grauibusque Persis.

Augustus will be considered a divine being, but only *after* Britain and the Parthians have been added to the Empire. Propertius now shows us Caesar only turning his thoughts eastward, already a god. The sarcastic repudiation of official propaganda is unmistakable. And when one remembers the significance of *labor* in Vergil's writing and how he weaves it into Rome's story and the destiny of Aeneas' progeny, Propertius' definition of *labor* as brigandage and robbery is harsh indeed (III, 4, 21):

> Praeda sit haec illis, quorum meruere labores.[22]

Most recently, G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in *Aeneid* VIII," *A.J.P.*, LXXXVII (1966), pp. 18-52, has provided a review of the significant articles and has shown that Hercules' reaction to Cacus is meant as a paradigm for Aeneas. Many details in Vergil point up the link between the two heroes. At the end of Book II, Aeneas dons a lion's skin (in which Hercules is customarily pictured), and in Book VIII, he sits on a lion's skin while the Salii celebrate Hercules' history (*A.*, II, 722 and VIII, 177). There are dolphins on Aeneas' shield in *A.*, VIII, 672-3, and there are dolphins on the shield of Heracles as Hesiod describes it (verse 212).

[21] When Octavian returned to triumph in 29 B.C. after Actium, he arrived outside the city on August 12, but delayed entrance until the 13th, Hercules' special day. For comparisons between Hercules' behavior in *Aeneid* VIII and Octavian returned to Rome, see P. Grimal, "Énée à Rome et le triomphe d'Octave," *R.E.A.*, LIII (1951), pp. 56-7. For contemporary references to Augustus as Hercules, cf. Horace, *C.*, III, 3, 9-12; 14, 1-4; IV, 5, 29-36. For Cleopatra as Omphale, see Plutarch, *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony*, 3.

[22] Cf. Propertius, IV, 10, 23-6 for a similar effect. He speaks of young Rome establishing contact between herself and her neighbors. At that time war had not been carried beyond the Tiber—*ultima praeda Nomentum.*

Elegies III, 4 and 5 are companion pieces. They share the same structure.[23] Both are directed toward Augustus now about to invade the East; both mention Crassus and the Parthians. In both there is, at the end, a strong contrast between *me* and *illis, mihi* and *uos,* between Propertius and whoever else thinks of plundering Asia. In both, Propertius twits Vergil; however, there is more humor in III, 5.

This consists chiefly in the lengthy list of scientific and philosophic subjects which takes up over half of the poem (III, 5, 23-46). It is at first difficult to know what to make of this section, or to guess what Propertius intended by including it in its present proportions. Verses 19-22 might well have ended III, 5:

> Me iuuat in prima coluisse Helicona iuuenta
> Musarumque choris implicuisse manus:
> me iuuat et multo mentem uincire Lyaeo,
> et caput in uerna semper habere rosa.

But Propertius then goes on to say that when his head has begun to whiten, he will enjoy studying natural history, the phases of the moon, the interaction of wind and sea, the thirst of rainbows, astronomy, the torments popularly pictured in the underworld.

Two points can be made. First, III, 5, 23-46 represent an exaggerated version of Vergil, *G.*, II, 475-82:

> Me uero primum dulces ante omnia Musae
> quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,
> accipiant, caelique uias et sidera monstrent,
> defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores;
> unde tremor terris, qua ui maria alta tumescant,
> obicibus ruptis, rursusque in se ipsa residant,
> quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
> hiberni, uel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet."

Although there are no verbal repetitions which prove beyond a doubt that Propertius is thinking of Vergil, the passages have much in common. Furthermore, III, 5, 23-46 are an expansion of II, 34, 51-4:

[23] Nethercut (above, note 2), pp. 393-7.

Harum nulla solet rationem quaerere mundi,
nec cur fraternis luna laboret equis,
nec si post Stygias aliquid restabit † erumpnas, †
nec si consulto fulmina missa tonent,

and here, in verse 52, the words *luna laboret* echo *lunaeque labores* in *G.*, II, 478. In addition, in II, 34, 59, Propertius proceeds directly to the famous lines on Vergil's *Aeneid* (verses 61-6) after stating his own preference with *me iuuet*:

Me iuuet hesternis positum languere corollis,

the same expression with which he introduces the long section III, 5, 19-48. Vergil had said he wished to study science and philosophy; Propertius, recalling these words, says that such lucubrations might do—for a dried up old man.

Secondly, we cannot fail to notice that there exists a certain discrepancy in that, when he should be contrasting love poetry with verses on war, he writes of putting off *philosophy* until he has grown old. No one asked Propertius to turn out a treatise on the moon. There is no need for him to bring in the eclipse of the sun. What we should expect to read is something which will resemble II, 10, where we learned that he would follow Augustus' camp . . . one day. By inflating out of all proportion that part of his recusatio which ordinarily would allude to the *Annales* or the *Aeneid* as examples of the composition he professed to hope to do at another time, by belaboring tediously practically every different area of study in the physical sciences—astronomy, meteorology, geology, and seismology—and by remaining silent, at the same time, about Augustus' camp or Roman victory, Propertius makes it unequivocably plain that he will exhaust the possibilities of a different literary genre before he will be reduced to uttering so much as one word which might seem to cast approval on what Augustus was doing. Particularly to be noted is the fact that Propertius allows he might become a "serious" poet before he dies (he would write of philosophy, as Vergil had done to some extent and wished to do), but would still not mention Augustan glory! That he, as a non-elegiac poet, should then reject Augustus' works as a theme, is tantamount to dismissing the New Rome on its own merits and not merely because, as an elegist, his rhythms were ill-suited to martial strains.

As Elegies III, 13 and 14 seemed particularly Horatian and appeared to lament the decay of morals in Rome, yet were discovered to be something quite diffrent in the contrast they posed, so III, 18 and 22 have been recognized as Vergilian in inspiration—the first recalling the famous introduction of Marcellus in the underworld of the *Aeneid* (VI, 854-86), the second, the well-known passage on the praises of Italy in *G.*, II, 136-76. It will be useful here to see how Propertius has in fact produced something totally different from Vergil.

In III, 18 Propertius is far from exalting Marcellus. To begin, III, 18 stands symmetrically opposite III, 7 in the book,[24] and III, 7 laments the death of one who was unwise and whose life exemplified excess, not moderation (*quod si contentus patrio boue uerteret agros . . . uiueret*, 7, 43-5). Money ruined Paetus. Many verbal parallels join him with Marcellus.[25] Then, if we turn to the *Aeneid* and compare what Propertius says about Marcellus with what Vergil says about him, we find a like emphasis on *opes* in the elegist which is absent from Vergil.

In the *Aeneid*, Marcellus is praised for his appearance (*quantum instar in ipso*! *A.*, VI, 865), for *pietas*, for courage and prowess in battle (VI, 878-81), for the trust and loyalty which made Rome mistress of the world—*prisca fides*. Propertius, III, 18, reflects on Marcellus' passing in an approximately equal number of verses (Vergil devotes 32 lines to Marcellus; Propertius, 34). When he speaks of human virtues unable to withstand death, he, too, singles out handsome looks (the *facies* of Nireus in III, 18, 27) and war strength (Achilles' *uis*) (III, 18, 25-8):

[24] W. A. Camps, *Propertius: Elegies Book III* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 4, gives a sketch of organizational features in Book III.

[25] Both men were young (*primo miser excidit aeuo*, of Paetus, III, 7, 7; *occidit, et misero steterat uicesimus annus*, of Marcellus, III, 18, 15). *Miser* is used of both. *Occidere* appears only twice in Book III: in 7, 54 and 18, 15. In each elegy Propertius asks what good the youth's mother did him in his extreme need (7, 9 and 17-18: *quid cara natanti / mater in ore tibi est?*; 18, 11-12: *quid . . . optima profuit illi / mater?* In both the word *mater* comes at the head of the pentameter). Reference to Agamemnon's love, Argynnus, is found twice in Propertius—in the problematic 7, 21-4 and in the equally unpopular lines 29-30 of 18. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 201, says that this legend of the Mycenean's first passion does not appear in other Latin poets.

Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere,
mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.
Nirea non facies, non uis exemit Achillem,
Croesum aut, Pactoli quas parit umor opes.

But Vergil never pictured Marcellus with the financial backing of a Croesus.

A central thematic interest in Propertius' third book is the figure of one who crosses the open water, setting his life at stake, in search of wealth. The motifs of quiet and disturbed water should not surprise us in a book at whose head Callimachus' name stands. What Propertius has added is the application of elegiac material to the contemporary scene; in this he is truly more of a "Roman" poet than he showed himself to be in Books I and II.[26] As Paetus' doom was owed to the sea, so is Marcellus' destiny painted in nautical colors. He is said to have "drowned" in III, 18, 9: *Stygias uultum demisit in undas.* And when Propertius queries what good bright canvasses on his theatre did him when he had to die (*quid . . . profuit . . . pleno fluitantia uela theatro,* 18, 11-13), not only is the question itself slightly inopportune, but the suggestion of *uela,* coupled with a participle connoting the flow of water, could not be more pointed:

At tu, saeue Aquilo, numquam mea uela uidebis,

[26] Actually, there is nothing comparable to III, 7, for example, in either Book I or II, as a quick glance through the table of contents of the two makes clear. The first is made up of poems centering around Cynthia and Propertius and their love; its world is self-contained. Only in the last two elegies are we introduecd to the effect of outside events, and this is in relation to Propertius by himself. In Book II there are but three poems which have as their point the influence of things beyond the separate existence the poet shares with his mistress: II, 7 is written in answer to legislation discussed in Rome, II, 16 mentions a rich praetor from overseas who has come to bribe Cynthia's affections, and in II, 31 the opening of Apollo's temple on the Palatine touches Propertius' private world. But these three elegies are only concerned with how the particular events relate to "us." And in II, 16, the praetor's position as Roman official is purely incidental to the problem at hand; he is not presented like Paetus, for example, as pursuing a course and manifesting an inclination widely shared by men of different stations in Rome (Caesar in III, 4, Postumus in 12, Paetus in 7—from the head of state to a private individual—are motivated by wealth in Propertius' lines).

Propertius had said to the sea wind at the end of his lament for Paetus. And *pleno . . . uela* echoes Propertius' commendation of Maecenas in III, 9, 30:

> Parcis et in tenuis humilem te colligis umbras:
> *uelorum plenos* subtrahis ipse sinus.

Though it was in his power to load his halls with trophies and to dispose of great wealth, he "furled his sails" while they were still wind-borne.

Verses 17-26 of III, 18 can be set beside III, 5, 13-18. Verse 13 of 5, *haud ullas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas,* makes up the content of 18, 17-20. *Victor cum uictis pariter miscebitur umbris* (5, 15) is the sentiment of 18, 21-4; and the inevitability of death, which lies behind the passage in 5, is given more explicit expression in 18, 25-6. In fact, the relation that 18, 17-26 bear to the preceding lines about Marcellus (18, 11-14) reminds us of that which 5, 13-18 bear to the activities of the conquest-minded Romans in 5, 11-12. In 18, however, the point strikes home more sharply, in that it is not the actions of a *type* of person (*stulte,* 5, 14) which have proved of no use, but those with which Marcellus himself has been specifically associated.[27]

Furthermore, there are a number of subtle allusions to Marcellus strewn throughout what might be taken as the moralizing (hence, less specific) passage, 18, 17-26. To begin, the singular *i nunc* (rather than the plural *ite* as in III, 7, 29 and 4, 7) gives what is said more focus and draws the individual we might conceive in general closer to the other individual already suggested in 11-14. Secondly, *stantiaque in plausum tota theatra iuuent* (18, 18) links Marcellus' theatre in verse 13 with the aimless pleasures which are no defense against death (*theatro,* 13; *theatra,* 18). Thirdly, *ludis* in 20 very likely implicates the

[27] III, 18, 11-12 refer to Marcellus while alive, as does the hint directed at the *Ludi Romani* in verse 20; 13-14 speak of what has been done or was in progress since the time of his death—the dedication of the theatre by Augustus, and "everything done through his mother's agency," i. e. the portico and library which would be raised in memorial. *Modo* in 13 I take to indicate the time since his death. There is no reason to argue over whether Octavia deputized for her son during his illness (Passerat), cf. Shackleton Bailey (above, note 25), pp. 197-8.

Ludi Romani Marcellus celebrated shortly before he died. Shackleton Bailey is most reluctant to accept it, and gives as one of his reasons the fact that it is redundant after 13 and inopportune to refer to Marcellus at this point;[28] even without it, the connection between Marcellus and the foolish pursuer of glory has been established already by *theatro,* used of the youth in 13, and *theatra,* of empty ambition in general, in verse 18. We might also note 18, 25-6, quoted previously. *Ille* (*cautus*) seems appropriately vague for the general statement: "Your cautious fellow, though he shut himself up in iron and bronze .... ." Yet the two times the pronoun has appeared in the poem, it has been used of Marcellus (18, 10-12):

> Errat et in uestro spiritus *ille* lacu.
> Quid genus aut uirtus aut optima profuit *illi*
> mater . . . ?

Yet if Propertius comes dangerously close to poor taste in raising so many doubts about Marcellus' life, he seems to elevate the youth at the end of 18, 31-4:

> At tibi, nauta, pias hominum qui traicis umbras,
> hoc animae portent corpus inane suae:
> qua Siculae uictor telluris Claudius et qua
> Caesar, ab humana cessit in astra uia.

It is important to retain the manuscripts' *qua* in 33. Propertius wrote it for a reason. One factor which should make its validity more likely is Propertius' practice of echoing the same word or idea near the beginning and end of individual elegies: we find *qua . . . uia* at the beginning and end of III, 18, 3-4; if we accept *qua* in 33, we have the same formation once more at the final couplet. Sometimes this effect seems intended only to round off and unify an elegy.[29] At others, it performs a sig-

[28] Shackleton Bailey, p. 199.

[29] E. g. *Cynthia* in II, 5, 1 and 30, *Cynthia* in II, 7, 1 and 19, *Maecenas* in III, 9, 1 and 59, *Baiae* in I, 11, 1 and 30, *deserta* in I, 18, 1 and 32, *amor* and *dicere* in 1, 9, 1 and 34, *nobis* and *me* in II, 8, 1 and 40, *non dextro* and *sinistra* in IV, 1, 72 and 150. Many examples of this abound, e. g. P. J. Enk, *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber Secundus* (Leiden, 1962), pp. 420-1, drawing on D. R. Shackleton Bailey in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* (1952-1953), p. 18. Also T. A. Suits' review of Enk in *C. P.*, LX (1965), p. 38.

nificant role in sustaining the thought and imagery of the poem, requiring us to tie the allusions developed near the start of an elegy into the concluding verses.[30] That the second possibility is worth considering here may be indicated by the fact that just as there are three mythological figures mentioned in 1-6, so are three Roman heroes included in 33-4. The order in which the six names are arranged at the beginning and end of III, 18 is as follows: Misenus (3), Hercules (4), Bacchus (6)[31] from mythology and tradition; Marcellus (not named but the subject of 32), Claudius (33), Caesar (34).

Marcellus and Misenus are, within III, 18, the only two figures who drowned; that Marcellus did not in fact drown, but that Propertius pictures his death as a watery one (18, 9) makes it appear all the more that we are meant to set the two men by each other. Marcellus and Misenus can also be paired apart from anyone else referred to in the elegy by virtue of the common letter with which their names begin. In addition, just as Julius and Bacchus were divine, just as Claudius and Hercules can be said to have accomplished enormous feats here on earth, what sets Misenus and Marcellus apart is their premature demise which came before they had done anything of genuine importance for Trojan Rome.[32] If Propertius has intended the

[30] Elegy II, 14, 1-8 allude to *nostoi*, the return of Trojan war combatants to their homes; 29-30 recapitulate, as Propertius hopes his ship will escape shipwreck and that he will be one with Cynthia. Cf. J. Vaio, "The Authenticity and Relevance of Propertius 2.14.29-32," *C.P.*, LVII (1962), pp. 236-8. Something of the same kind can be detected in I, 3, where Cynthia first is compared to Ariadne abandoned by Theseus (*desertis litoribus*, I, 3, 2) and to a Maenad fallen asleep after her frenzy (*assiduis fessa choris*, 5), and at the poem's end reproaches Propertius for coming late: she was abandoned (*deserta*, 43) and tried to cheat sleep by singing, tired though she was (*fessa*, 42).

[31] *Cymbala* in III, 18, 6 favors Bacchus. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (above, note 25), p. 196.

[32] Caesar and Claudius were unusually successful commanders. Both fought against the Gauls with conspicuous success, and Claudius was awarded the *spolia opima* for his triumph over the Gallic chief Viridomarus. Marcellus, too, had been to Gaul: he accompanied Augustus there in 27 B.C., but the purpose of this sojourn was essentially administrative in nature rather than military. Many of the roads had fallen into disrepair during the civil wars; it was necessary to see what new work was desirable. Marcellus never attained the stature of

identification we envision, it is particularly cutting, for it makes Marcellus out to be one whose death was associated with an empty show, a vain display of talent.

Elegy III, 22 has been called a "slavish imitation" of Vergil's *laudes Italiae.*[33] It is addressed to Tullus, whom we remember from I, 6 where he set out to aid in the Roman administration of Asia Minor. Tullus has spent many years in the East (III, 22, 1-4):

> Frigida tam multos placuit tibi Cyzicus annos
> Tulle, Propontiaca quae fluit isthmos aqua,
> Dindymis et sacra fabricata in uite Cybebe,
> raptorisque tulit quae uia Ditis equos?

Lines 3-4 fix the identification which we must keep in mind throughout III, 22. Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg.*, I, 1118 ff.) describes a vine stock growing in the wood on Dindymus, a hill at Cyzicus, which the Argonauts cut down to shape an image of Cybele. The locations mentioned next, in 5-16, reinforce this connection. Africa and the far West (7-10), the river Phasis (which the Argonauts followed, after they captured the fleece, to Ocean, whose currents brought them around in a circle to home), the Symplegades (between which the Argo followed the dove in safety, 12-13), the eastern coast of Asia Minor (Ortygia is Ephesus, or a grove near Ephesus; Ephesus stands at the mouth of the Cayster), and the river Nile in 16—all of these were visited, according to varying accounts, by the Argonauts on their journey after fame and fortune. In III, 22 we are meant to see Tullus as a contemporary member of such a crew. In Propertius' eyes, Tullus is one more of Caesar's men who has foregone love (the erotic implication of *frigida* in line 1 should not be overlooked) and dared the sea wind in pursuit of official goals that have, as their ultimate aim, the acquisition of

either of these two generals, nor is his name linked with any conflict of moment. As *qua . . . uia* in 3-4 effectively contrasts Misenus and Hercules (it binds them tightly together), both of whom were known to the Naples area, thus bringing out all the more the divergence in status between a daredevil and a demigod, so does *qua . . . uia* juxtapose the dead youth with two genuine heroes.

[33] E. Paratore, "Virgilio Georgico e Properzio," *A & R*, X (1942), p. 53: "pedissequa imitazione."

aurum.[34] Here it will be noticed that III, 22 stands four poems from the end of Book III just as III, 4, which introduces Caesar looking across the sea to the Orient for plunder, is placed four poems from the beginning of the book.

We have observed that in Book III Propertius employs elegiac motifs from Callimachus, but applies them to contemporary Rome. The literary conceit which contrasts the quiet flow of water lower on Helicon to the gush of Hippocrene near the summit was extended horizontally to oppose inshore waters and the open sea (III, 3, 23-4; 9, 3-4), and this found a perfect referent in Augustus crossing the Mediterranean to Asia. Even more fitting is the fact that Propertius can link his disavowal of sea-faring with his refusal to support by pen state foreign policy: as an elegist he would in any event eschew the composition of epic verse (this would be for him to commit his raft to the ocean), and, as matters were standing in Rome, to violate the limits of his genre would be to identify with sea-crossing in a literal sense. Elegy III, 22 embodies this interplay of ideas (Tullus is a sailor) but with the added refinement that specific allusion is made to the Argonauts. Propertius, a disciple of Callimachus, is now able to repudiate coevals who were living out what Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus' great rival, had written.

Accordingly, in III, 22, 23-6 Propertius stresses inland water—rivers, not open expanses like the sea. Italy is characterized by the Anio, Clitumnus, Tiber, smaller rivers than the Nile in

[34] Verse 4 may indicate whether Propertius is likening him to any particular Argonaut: the descent to the underworld, the use of force (*raptoris*), the allusion to Persephone, all suggest Theseus. With Pirithous, he attempted to steal back Pluto's bride and to carry her off (*rapere*) to the world she had left. Editors note that the adventures with Sinis, the bed of Procrustes, and the Scironian rocks, which belong to the Theseus legend and which are mentioned in III, 22, 37-8, occurred while he was on his way to his homeland, looking for his father. In view of this, it is clever of Propertius to write, immediately after the references just mentioned, *haec tibi, Tulle, parens* (III, 22, 39). Tullus should be heading to Rome; there lies his true home. Theseus is also mentioned in III, 21, 24, where Propertius envisions leaving Rome to forget Cynthia. Together III, 21 and 22 form a cycle in which we see the poet leaving Rome and read that Theseus should be returning to the same city.

verse 16, nor so swift as channels like the Hellespont; he mentions lakes bounded by land, the Alban and Nemi (25). Rome's famous victors have tasted the *fons Iuturnae* (26): nothing could be more expressive, for an elegist, than to bring in this small spring lying at the bottom of a hill which dominated Rome, and on which the new temple to Apollo now stood.[35] Similarly, Propertius gives verses 27-36 to a denial of the monstrous happenings which we are told took place in the East and in Greece. In each of these stories—Andromeda (29), Atreus and Thyestes (30), Meleager and Althea (31-2), Pentheus and Agave (33), Agamemnon and Iphigenia (34), Juno and Io (35-6)—something distorted and horrible occurred, which the writers of epic and tragedy had made famous. This can be said for the bed of Procrustes in 38, the Scironian rocks and the novel torture Sinis devised, in 37.

This elegy is not an eviscerated copy of what Vergil had written, but a well-organized poem with its own unique sentiment. Its sections are arranged so as to bring out what Italy does not have, rather than, as in Vergil, what Italy possesses over every other country.[36] For this reason it may appear pale set beside its predecessor. What Rome has is more humble water courses; what she does not have are unnatural marvels, monsters, and all the gross distortions to be found in the pages of poets whose diction and sensibilities were as inflated as the subjects they treated. In this poem, we have an *elegist's* tribute to Rome. The first and final words in III, 22 (*frigida,* 1; *amor,*

[35] Paratore (above, note 8), p. 164, saw, III, 22 as an erratic and cold poem, whose lack of enthusiasm clearly proved Propertius' hostility toward Augustus. The two main defects of 22, for Paratore, were the lifeless list of myths ("fredda enumerazione")—p. 161—and the choice of water courses, rather than riches or climate, as Italy's blessings.

[36] *G.*, II, 136-76 gives five of its lines to the natural hazards absent from Italy (149-54); it mentions, mostly, what Italy has of which to be proud: crops (140-4), religious practice and the pursuit of war (145-8), the *opera* of men (155-7), the peninsula's lakes and seas (158-64), deposits of metal ore (165-6), and a long line of heroes (167-72). Propertius, on the other hand, after six lines of introduction, dwells on what is to be seen elsewhere (7-18), then has eight verses of Italy herself (character of the people, war, arms, *pietas*, 19-22; landscape and water, 23-6), and continues with the long list of what Italy does not have of natural hazards and monsters (27-38).

42) reverse the above emphasis: it is Cyzicus which is lacking; Rome has all she needs.

To recapitulate: Propertius, III, 1-5 form a carefully polished unit bound together by the poet's interest in his role as spokesman for Rome's lovers, and artistically arranged with alternation of mood from poem to poem and between the end of one elegy and the beginning of the next. The five elegies exhibit chiastic symmetry in their number of verses and embody the motifs of water, war, wealth, and triumph. In the proportion they maintain to the total number of elegies in the third book, they appear modeled on Horace's Roman Odes. This impression is confirmed by significant verbal echoes. Propertius' intent is humorous—he parodies Horace. That he does so elsewhere in Book III is easily established by studying Elegy III, 14 and the relationship it bears to III, 13: far from emulating Horace in exhorting the youth of a corrupt society to train rigorously and to harden their bodies in the Spartan way (the traditional view of III, 14), Propertius suggests that Rome would be better off, the ills mentioned in III, 13 might find a cure, if the girls of the state entered into "armed conflict" readily and with good will, instead of withholding their charms for the costly gifts of traveling merchants. Just so, in III, 2, Propertius appears to second Horace in shunning wealth for quiet virtue and moderate surroundings, but he is really drawing a distinction between true humility of spirit and the inconsistency of a man who praised poverty only to leave posterity a monument physically defined as taller than the pyramids.

Irony comes naturally to the *recusatio,* of which III, 1-5 represent deft variations. A highly original and interesting feature of Propertius' "Roman Elegies" lies in his decision to don different *personae* or masks, behind which he makes whimsical comment on three of the most prominent literary advocates of national destiny. Horace is one of these figures. Ennius and Vergil are the other two. In III, 3 he picks up an idea latent in III, 1, that his elegies are a worthy counterpart to Ennius' *Annales*; but where Ennius wrote of Punic battles around Carthage, Propertius will chronicle the "Punic" struggles symbolized by Venus' doves dipping their red bills (*punica rostra*) in the lower, tranquil waters of Hippocrene. In III, 4, Propertius mimics the *Aeneid,* and in III, 5 he promises to become

the philosopher Vergil used to want to be (the emphasis on the Vergil of earlier times, the Vergil of the *Georgics*, is itself with a point)—but only after he has grown too old to make love!

On a first level, Propertius' humor provides an elegant, more gentle spoof of serious spokesmen for Rome. In just such a vein III, 22 offers the perfect rejoinder to one who had praised Italy in fulsome measure and who was bringing into being "something more enormous" (no commendation this, given the context of II, 34) than the longest epic composed by Homer. Italy, Propertius chides Vergil, is a land of small springs, where water is bounded by the earth. On a second level, Propertius is more caustic. This is particularly true in his parodies of Vergil: in III, 4, *arma deus Caesar* is a sarcastic exaggeration of the first line of the *Aeneid* and also a sharp rebuttal of Horace's Fifth Roman Ode, in which Augustus could only be considered divine *after* he had subdued both the Britons and the Parthians. The sarcasm, of course, is not aimed at Vergil so much as it reflects Propertius' dislike of Augustus. Likewise, *labor* defined as pillage cannot be faced without a cringe by anyone who is familiar with Vergil's moving elaboration of this concept. And in his treatment of Marcellus in III, 18 Propertius appears almost harsh, as he equates the dead youth with the misguided mortal whose wealth did him no good, and brings the departed indirectly parallel with Misenus, who also died prematurely near Naples and who was famous for a sound familiar at Marcellus' games, the ring of the trumpet. Similarly, in III, 5, 23-46 the abrupt departure from the usual contrast of the *recusatio* (personal, as opposed to national, poetry) whereby Propertius reserves *philosophy* for a later period in his life, allows us to infer that the poet's rejection of Rome as a subject at a later date will be owed, not to his posture as an elegist, but to his personal disapproval of Augustus. The very length of the catalogue of philosophic subjects imparts vehemence to this point.

It is at such moments as these last that we seem able to penetrate Propertius' disguises, where we sense, still alive beneath his costume, rancor born of past sorrow.

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AENEID VII AND THE *AENEID*.

I would like to deal here with the theme of metamorphosis in the *Aeneid*, specifically in the seventh book. In so doing I will touch again on a topic rightly of growing concern to Virgil scholars—the meaning of the final moments of the epic and some of the questions its hero's actions raise about Rome and about human life.

At the end of Book VI of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas and the Sibyl, under the direction of father Anchises, issue forth from the Underworld through the ivory gate of Sleep. This is the gate, the poet tells us, whence the spirits send *falsa insomnia*, treacherous, misleading nightmares, to the world above. There had been no mention of *portae* at the entrance, only a *vestibulum* and *fauces, limen* and *fores* leading into the house of Dis. The way down is easy, the Sibyl predicted, but suffering and trial await the moment of departure. That there is no apparent *labor* in Aeneas' withdrawal adds to the effect of Virgil's words and forces the reader to ponder their symbolism for the books which follow.

We can divine something of his meaning by turning back to the description of the shapes Aeneas sees on first entering Hades. They lurk, ready to make their way to the earth above, where they must spend a great deal of their time. Among other equally hideous personifications we find, at the end of the list, *Bellum*, the Furies in their iron chambers, and mad *Discordia*, her snaky hair bound with bloody fillets.

It is not long before all these vices will have full opportunity for display. At VI, 86-7 the Sibyl in her trance cries

> . . . bella, horrida bella
> et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.

The vision soon becomes a reality. In the next book the priest who interprets the omens of the bees and Lavinia's flaming hair for Latinus agrees that she will be renowned in report and reputation (*illustrem fama fatisque*: VII, 79). The signs also portend a *magnum bellum* for the people. And Juno, ad-

dressing the unfortunate girl in her thoughts, can gloat (VII, 318-19)

> sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
> et Bellona manet te pronuba . . .

Blood will be shed by both sides in the ensuing gory "marriage" of peoples over which the goddess of war will preside.[1]

As for the Furies one need only refer to the devastating role Allecto plays in Book VII and the anonymous *Dira* in Book XII. And *Discordia*, which Allecto boasts of "perfecting" at VII, 545, is but another name for *impius Furor* who for a brief moment is locked by Jupiter's words in the temple of Janus (I, 293-6). Juno's more realistic thrusting open of the twin gates of War (*geminae Belli portae*: VII, 607) releases an unstated Discord (and a host of warriors) whose effects can be immediately gauged.

There is another set of creatures who cluster at the entrance to Hell, on or around an aged elm. These consist, with one exception to be mentioned in a moment, of Centaurs, Scyllas, Briareus, the Lernaean Hydra, the Chimaera, Gorgons, Harpies, and Geryon. Aeneas would have attempted to kill them had not the Sibyl assured him that they were slender beings without flesh (*tenuis sine corpore vitas*) and that they floated around as spectres of empty shape (*cava sub imagine formae*). Their lives are hollow and bodiless, and what form they have is only an image. Aeneas cannot kill them by a sword-thrust which would act only against body. Their workings are more subtle. Many act on the spirit and take "physical" shape only in human natures gone sufficiently awry to serve as visible symbols for the mind's madness.

Aeneas would have been acquainted with two members of this catalogue from previous experience. In the real-unreal transitional world of Book III he knows enough of Scylla's threat to skirt the danger. Not so with the Harpies who bring out the

[1] At 423 Allecto, in disguise, can taunt Turnus that Latinus has denied him *quaesitas sanguine dotes*. There may be a pun in Virgil's address to Saturn as *sanguinis ultimus auctor* (49). Juno, prime cause of future bloodshed, is called *Saturnia* four times in Book VII (428, 560, 572, 622), more than in any other Book. For explicit connections between blood and war, cf. lines 541-2, 554, 595.

worst in him. He declares causeless war on their cattle (*inruimus ferro*: III, 223) and on them (III, 234-5):

> . . . sociis tunc arma capessant
> edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.

Misenus, who is later killed for vying with a god, trumpets them into battle. Celaeno, *Furiarum maxima*, sums up the event with a question (247-9):

> bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvencis,
> Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
> et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?

Unnecessary slaughter of cattle leads to war against rightful inhabitants. Celaeno curses them with hunger and Aeneas misremembers her words as those of his father when the curse is fulfilled at VII, 107-34.

The same pattern begins to rework itself when Celaeno's kindred fury, Allecto, stirs up the Italian world in Book VII. Madness seizes Iulus' hounds and ambition their master, in the pursuit of Silvia's tamed stag. Italy has been for some time at peace. The inherent strength of a wild though pastoral people has been moulded to the uses of civilization and prosperous, georgic living. Aeneas brings madness with him and, in rousing opposition, renews a natural rudeness. But it is a rudeness in defense of one's own, like the Harpies' care for their land. However distasteful the external image they present, the treatment is undeserved.

In Book III the Harpy-Furies are still *Odyssey*-like personifications of emotion. The Trojans' violent action rouses direct retaliation. But Virgil takes what appears a literal myth and gradually turns it into a figment of the mind, with potency more latent. In Book VI Aeneas reacts in physical fashion to the metaphysical, naturally enough from his past experience. His attack, however, is only against the spiritual causes of anguish, somehow visible though only *imagines*. The curious fact is that Aeneas himself is one of these. He leaves the Underworld as a *falsum insomnium*. Yet *Somnia vana* stand ready at Hell's entrance, along with Grief, Suffering, and a host of other monsters, to make facile way up to torture mankind.

These other creatures will soon enter directly into Aeneas' life. Of the list quoted earlier (and with the exception of Scylla and the Harpies who appear in Book III), only one, Briareus, does not make some appearance in Book VII. Geryon is mentioned at VII, 662 as the victim of Hercules. The fury Allecto, who starts the war, is tainted with the Gorgons' poisons (*Gorgoneis infecta venenis*: 341). In the catalogue of enemies who are to confront Aeneas, Catillus and Coras are compared to Centaurs. Aventinus carries the Hydra as shield device and Turnus' crest sports a Chimaera. Briareus finds proper replacement in *saevus* Orion who appears in a simile comparing the forces of Clausus to the waves of the Libyan sea (VII, 719). These are the "monsters" whom Aeneas is to confront, and Virgil builds up their prowess accordingly.[2] But we should not forget that Latinus was ruling over cities quiet after long peace (*longa placidas in pace*: VII, 46) before Aeneas' arrival.[3] The full extent of the *falsum insomnium*, the nightmare Aeneas himself conveys and the emotions he thereby arouses, awaits final revelation only at the epic's conclusion. Aeneas is the source of Rome's heroic lineage, yet he brings torments with (and in) himself as he leaves the Underworld. The twin Gates of Sleep and the twin Gates of War have their parallels. Some of the poet's intent, however, can be determined from the opening of Book VII, to which we now must turn.

It begins on a particularly gloomy note—*tu quoque . . . Caieta.* No heroic invocation here. That occurs—if such it can be called—only after some thirty verses of intense symbolic revelation (the prayer to Erato) and then again after six hundred more lines where the goddesses of Helicon are called upon to help survey an Italy roused to war. The word *quoque* recalls that Palinurus and Misenus have recently died and given their

[2] It is curious that the four Trojan boats which take part in the race during Anchises' funeral games carry as emblems a *Pristis*, Chimaera, Centaur, and Scylla. The *Pristis* (or *Pistrix*) was a sea monster which formed part of Scylla's make-up (III, 427). The connection with future Rome is, in each instance, carefully stressed by the poet. Mythic experience switches to allegorical emblem which in future actions will become symbolic only.

[3] As late as line 285 the Trojans bring peace back from Latinus to Aeneas (*pacem . . . reportant*).

names to nearby places. Caieta is noteworthy for being the nurse of Aeneas (*Aeneia nutrix*). She cherished Aeneas as Italy, *terra alma*, nourishes those who will oppose him. We are reminded that, in spite of the ending of Book VI, Aeneas is alive as well as dead, that he is real as well as a dream and that the process of his growth continues now into maturity. But we are given a careful message also in these opening lines. Everlasting fame (*famam*) is gained only at the price of death (*moriens*). Honor (*honos*) is balanced by a tomb (*sedem*), reputation (*nomen*) keeps guard only over bones (*ossa*)—if there is any glory in that, the poet adds.[4]

The warning, to Aeneas through Caieta, is that progress demands sacrifice and that reputation is bought by death. The oracle of Faunus soon makes the same point in an ambiguous utterance whose negative implications Latinus does not seem to grasp. The newly arrived Trojans are a race, the voice says, "who by blood will bring our reputation to the stars" (*qui sanguine nostrum / nomen in astra ferant*: 98-9 = 271-2). Blood is a price as well as a cause of renown.

Anchises, at the end of Book VI, kindled in his son's mind yearning for coming glory (*incendit . . . animum famae venientis amore*: VI, 889). Virgil now warns that any search for *fama* may mislead even to the point of bringing death. The reputation of the past, he later tells us, glides on scarcely even a slender breath (*ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura*: VII, 646). For *fama* may become *Fama*, daughter of earth, a *monstrum horrendum, ingens* (IV, 181), ready to spread truth and falsehood with equal ease in Carthage. She is already loose in Italy at the moment of the Trojan's arrival (102 ff.). This time, however, the actual revolution is accomplished by still more vigorous partisans. One of them, it must be noted, is Ascanius who, in pursuing Silvia's stag, is fired with a yearning of extraordinary praise (*eximiae laudis succensus amore*: 496).

Aeneas next passes by the shores of Circe. The adventure is not superfluous but serves as precursorial symbol for the whole

[4] For a more detailed treatment of Caieta see C. P. Segal, "*Aeternum per Saecula Nomen*, the Golden Bough and the Tragedy of History: Part II," *Arion*, V (1966), pp. 56 ff.

book.[5] She is daughter of the sun but works by moonlight. She seduces by the senses. We see her groves, her proud house, her lights, and slender weaving. We listen to her songs and smell the cedar she burns. Yet we also hear the angry groans and roars of the men she has changed to animals and visualize the tension and incoherence in their beings. They rage (*saevire*) as she is wrathful (*saeva*). They have only the shapes of beasts (*formae*). Who once had the visage of humans (*hominum ex facie*) now possess the features and frames of animals (*vultus ac terga ferarum*). They are men forced to adopt the characteristics of beasts. Circe signifies the power that causes and then effects such a hideous transformation, whatever the many emotional guises each example of her craft may assume.

The groaning of the beasts recalls a moment of more intensive, elaborate horror in Book VI—Phlegethon, at whose gate Tisiphone presides, whence issue the moans of the tortured and the shrieks of whips. In Book VII the description is circumscribed:

> hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum
> vincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum, . . .

The corresponding lines in Book VI introduce a lengthier roster of terrors (557-8):

> hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare
> verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.

"*Quae scelerum facies? . . .*" (560) Aeneas first asks the Sibyl. She responds with example after example. Nevertheless, she concludes, even with a hundred tongues and a voice of iron she could not detail all the different types of crimes (*omnes scelerum . . . formas,* 626).[6] These are the actual shapes of crime as well as its instruments. Tisiphone guards those who have

[5] In this respect the adventure of Circe parallels, out of many examples, the wooden horse in Book II, the *monstrum* of Polydorus in III, the panels of Daedalus in VI. Though the time is night, the breezes blow and the moon gleams with sufficient brightness for sailing. It is untrue day and travel is suspect (in Book III we have examples of breezes falling at sunset while nightfall brings the end of journeying). The moon's light is borrowed from the sun and fickle (*tremulo*). Nocturnal breezes drawing toward Circe are wrongly seductive (cf. Horace's use of *aura* at *C.*, I, 5, 11 and II, 8, 24).

[6] *Saevus* is again an adjective much in evidence (557, 572, 577).

twisted themselves by misdeeds. Circe is a symbol of the power that transforms. The road branches in Book VI and Aeneas is guided toward the Elysian Fields. In Book VII, though he appears to pass Circe by, his life takes a more realistic turn.

The intervention of Neptune apparently prohibits the pious Trojans from "suffering" such monsters, but Circe's influence penetrates the book. We hear of Picus (189-91)

> . . . equum domitor, quem capta cupidine coniunx
> aurea percussum virga versumque venenis
> fecit avem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas.

The only way that Circe's lust can keep love is to transform it into bestial form, not elevate to divinity (as Homer's Calypso proposes to Odysseus). This *cupido* demands the perverse loss of human shape and lives by diversity of superficial texture alone (her multiform animals are paralleled in the variety of colors Picus assumes here). So at line 282 Circe is styled *daedala* because, as craftsman of eccentricities, she delights in a multitude of appearances.

Though now a bird, Picus had been an *equum domitor*. The same epithet is given to two of the warriors (Lausus, 651, and Messapus, 691) in the concluding list of the marshalled Italians. Circe herself also makes two appearances in the catalogue. The grove of Angitia, we learn at 759, will weep for Umbro, the Marruvian. As Medea (or her sister—commentators differ) transplanted, she would be Circe's niece. Umbro was a priest and magician (753-5)

> vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydris
> spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
> mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.

But there are stronger vipers and hydras on the loose, stronger enchantments and deeper angers than he can control. He has no power against a Trojan wound. Virgil devotes to him the most poignant lines in the book, reminiscent of Orpheus weeping for Eurydice (759-60):

> te nemus Angitiae, vitrea te Fucinus unda,
> te liquidi flevere lacus.

Finally among the followers of Turnus are those who work the *Circaeum iugum* (799). They could absorb her influence first hand.

Cedarwood figures of early Latin heroes (the Trojans would know the smell from Circe's shores) and the admonitory statue of Picus ushered Aeneas' ambassadors into the court of Latinus. They took away with them another example of the goddess' handiwork (280-3):

> absenti Aeneae currum geminosque iugalis
> semine ab aetherio spirantis naribus ignem
> illorum de gente patri quos daedala Circe
> supposita de matre nothos furata creavit.

The novelty of fire-breathing horses, Virgil's usual symbol for war, horses part divine, part mortal would have appealed to the monster-maker Circe. Aeneas would not realize the full implication of receiving such an apt gift.[7] Virgil gives us a hint when he describes the quasi-allegorical Chimaera Turnus wears on his helmet's crest as "breathing Etna's fires from its jaws" (*Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis*: 786). The kinship with *spirantis naribus ignem* is inescapable.[8]

I will anticipate later, more thorough investigation of the possibilities of Circean metamorphosis by drawing attention to one detail in the description of Picus' transformation. Circe accomplishes her act by potions (*versum venenis / fecit avem Circe*: 190-1). The verb *verto* has many special places in Book VII, none more important than in the description of the fury Allecto. Like the changes that she wreaks on people (or, more exactly, the latent, devastating characteristics she draws to the

[7] The gift Aeneas gives Latinus, *Priami gestamen* (246), also has its irony. The fate of Priam is transferred to Latinus, each an old ruler unable to control a kingdom heading toward ruin.

[8] Though Aeneas' envoys apparently return with peace, they bring as gifts symbols of war (see commentators on *Aen.*, I, 444; III, 539 ff.), and Circe is the medium of the change.

The horses have two things in common with the portrait of Camilla at the end of the book. They are fleet of foot (*alipedes*, 277) and they are caparisoned in purple and gold (*ostro*, 277 and 814; *aurea*, *auro*, *aurum*, 278-80, *auro*, 816). It is her vanity that proves her undoing as she contemplates the accoutrements of Chloreus in Book XI, where again purple (*ostro*, 772) and gold (*auro*, 771, *aureus*, 774, *auro*, 776, *auro*, 779) are prominent (see S. G. P. Small "Vergil, Dante and Camilla," *C. J.*, LIV [1958-59], p. 298). In accepting such a gift Aeneas receives something of Camilla's superficiality and wildness as well as the possibilities of Circean metamorphosis.

surface) she is a creature of varied shapes (*tot sese vertit in ora*: 328). The words echo an ambiguity inherent in a remark Juno had just made—"I turn myself to all resources (into all things)" (*memet in omnia verto*: 309). Allecto alone is left. She has many fierce faces (*saevae facies*, 329), many façades for the beast within us.[9] Her counterpart Circe, *dea saeva*, can alter the faces of men with potent herbs. Allecto, too, makes use of subtle medicines. She is stained with poisons (*infecta venenis*, 341) when she first sets out against Amata. Her disease slips into the maddened queen with damp venom (*udo veneno*, 354). She breathes in a viper's soul (*vipeream animam*, 351) against which there is no recourse.

The Tiber's mouth at which the Trojans now land would seem at first a happy alternative to Circe's shores. Night turns into day.[10] The *vada fervida* which swirl near Circe's shores give place to *lento marmore*, a calm, sluggish sea. The similarity of the two descriptions seems to set one place off from the other. Circe's *inaccessos lucos* (11) become the *ingentem lucum* (25) which Aeneas enters happily. Her unceasing song (*adsiduo cantu*, 12) yields to the bird calls which now soothe the air (*cantu*, 34). The Tiber exerts its own form of magic charm, with deep groves and gripping voices. Indeed it could be argued

[9] E. Fraenkel ("Some Aspects of the Structure of Aeneid VII," *J. R. S.*, XXXV [1945], p. 5) speaks of the "private egoisms" at the root of the war.

[10] The description is usually taken as idyllic (as, most recently, E. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien*, p. 86: "eine Szene voll tiefer Freude"):

iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis.

Rubesco is used three times in the *Aeneid*. The other two occasions have bearing on VII, 25. At III, 521 *rubescebat Aurora* begins the description of the first landfall in Italy (and Anchises' prediction of war). At VIII, 695 we find the sea red from blood (*arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt*).

A similar description of dawn occurs at VI, 535-6:

hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis
iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem.

In Book VII Aurora gleams from a two-horse, not four-horse, chariot. The change may anticipate the *currum geminosque iugalis* (280) that Latinus sends to Aeneas. Aurora, as another daughter of the sun, carries on Circe's influence. Aeneas' steeds are also bred by Circe of heavenly descent, a bastard combination of mortal and immortal.

that it carries over into the Italian landscape the very changeability that Circe can exercise. The sea outside may be quiet, but the Tiber itself presents a different spectacle more akin to Circe's swollen floods than not. It swirls down with rapid turnings (*verticibus rapidis*)—the importance of the latent metaphor is already apparent—and breaks forth (*prorumpit*) into the sea, as if its violence had been hemmed in or was at last spent.[11] It is not long before we contemplate the spectacle of all Italy gone wild after Juno breaks open War's iron gates (*rumpit*, 622). Aeneas may not sense this (he is *laetus* at the prospect of the stream), but Virgil gives us a careful warning by altering the attributes attached to the river from *amoenus* (30) to *opacus* (36). Things may be somewhat darker than they at first seem.[12]

The irony of the address to the muse of love poetry, Erato, when it finally comes (37) is that no love enters this world as a result of Aeneas' arrival. Nothing is ever said of any bond of affection between Lavinia and Aeneas whose alliance is a primary cause for the coming war.[13] Scrutiny of the uses of *amor* in the book is revelatory. We hear first of Amata's *miro amore* (57) for her would-be son-in-law, an emotion upon which Allecto plays to full effect. We learn of Turnus' *amor ferri* (461) and of the *insani Martis amore* (550) with which Allecto fires the Italians. This causes Virgil to exclaim *huc omnis aratri / cessit amor* (635-6). It was *eximiae laudis amore* (496), we remember, which causes Iulus to wound Silvia's pet.[14]

One aspect of his action deserves mention here. As he shoots at the stag, it is *perque uterum . . . perque ilia* (499) that Iulus' arrow flies. The shot does not kill but only emasculates the stag. But inside the animal exterior there are near human traits. It

[11] Cf. the use of *vertex* at Hor., *C.*, II, 8, 22.

[12] This dualism in the opening lines is analyzed by K. J. Reckford, "Latent Tragedy in *Aeneid* VII, 1-285," *A. J. P.*, LXXXII (1961), pp. 252-69. R. D. Williams ("The Purpose of the *Aeneid*," *Antichthon*, I [1967], p. 37) calls Allecto "a personification of man's own evil desires. . . ."

[13] See F. Todd, "Virgil's Invocation of Erato," *C.R.*, XLV (1931), pp. 46-8 and the comments of Reckford, *op. cit.*, p. 257, n. 15.

[14] The only other mention of *amor* in Book VII is at 769 (Diana's strange affection for Hippolytus).

groans (*gemens*) and, in its grief, takes on the attitude of one in prayer (*imploranti similis*, 502). Circe's spirit alters men into beasts. In the wounded stag we may feel a more happy combination of wild and human that could stand for tamed Italy itself. It is Ascanius who is ambitious and his dogs who are maddened.

An obvious link between Turnus and the stag is only felt, not stated, in Book VII (the stag, for instance, is *forma praestanti*, 483, while Turnus, armed, is *praestanti corpore*, 783). In Book XII, however, Virgil makes a direct equation of Aeneas with a *venator canis* (no trace even of the human Iulus here!) and of Turnus with a stag (XII, 749-55).[15] At the end of Book XII Turnus is killed, but by the middle of Book VII Italy has begun to lose its manhood and the Trojans to absorb an uncontrolled vigor.

The love, then, over which Erato is called upon to preside, is perverse, not creative. Its beginnings are rooted in war, not peace, compulsion, not gentleness. If the *maior rerum ordo* to which Virgil alludes at line 44 is Rome, the remark is made with bitter stress—the rebirth of Aeneas is the "birth" of war. If it refers specifically to the catalogue of horrors that follows in the next six books, it is a begetting that leads to funerals, not lives.

The metamorphosis of peace into war begins forthwith. Though Latinus had long lived in peace two omens now predict war—the sudden advent of a cluster of bees on the palace laurel and a mysterious fire on Lavinia's head. As usual with Virgil each omen prepares us for its later reformulation.

Bees in the fourth *Georgic* are notable for their energetic industry and warlike ways. The latter quality makes itself felt here. The bees arrive with a mighty shriek (*stridore ingenti*, 65) and take such dense possession of the laurel that the soothsayer unhesitatingly sees them standing for a new race which will have dominion on the topmost citadel (*summa dominarier arce*, 70). This overlordship apparently brooks no compromise. And the turn of georgic occupations into martial pursuits is a motif of the Book as a whole. Worship of ploughshares and

[15] This point is made in an interesting article by W. R. Nethercut, "Invasion in the *Aeneid*," *G. and R.*, XV (1968), pp. 82-95.

sickle (635), the farmer's "weapons," gives place to arms of a more destructive sort. It is a *pastorale signum* (513) with which Allecto calls the countryside to war.

Camilla embodies both aspects. She carries a

> . . . pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum (817).[16]

This is not so much a symbol of the Italian shepherds[17] (they too were at peace before the Trojans came) as it is the final emblem of the perversion of pastoral into violent, of love misguided into war, of Venus' myrtle into a weapon of Mars. Hunting gradually changes in the *Aeneid* from an occupation necessary to produce life's staples (Book I) to the unnecessary and inflammatory search for booty (Books III and VII) to war itself, finally, as man tracks man, one predator after another.

The omen of Lavinia's burning locks is clearer still. The fire becomes metaphysical and takes many forms as the book progresses. We are told of Lavinia (75-6)

> regalisque accensa comas, accensa coronam
> insignem gemmis; . . .

We then turn to the inner world of Amata and her matrons (*furiis . . . accensas pectore,* 392). This has been Allecto's work. So also is her power, via Iulus, on the local rustics (*bello . . . animos accendit agrestis,* 482). Of still wider influence she later boasts (550):

> accendamque animos insani Martis amore . . .

Turnus' transformation is visualized in terms of water frothing as fire is set beneath a cauldron (462-6). The water itself swirls like smoke as once again elements which could well stand for pastoral and war are combined.[18] From this moment on he is

[16] Throughout the *Aeneid* Virgil reveals a fondness for metaphors from nature twisted into contexts of war. In Book VII we may note *atra . . . late / horrescit strictis seges ensibus* (525-6); *florentis aere catervas* (804).

[17] Such is the interpretation of V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils,* p. 275.

[18] The relationship between this simile and VIII, 22-5 (and their respective settings) deserves further exploration. The latter simile has much in common with the description of the waters which swirl around

closely associated with fire's power, as at 577-8:

> Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni
> terrorem ingeminat.

There is a direct line from Lavinia, spreading Vulcan throughout the house (*totis Volcanum spargere tectis,* 77) to the Aetnean fires which Turnus' Chimaera sports (796). Lavinia, too, plays her part in letting slip "the dogs of war."

For further reinforcement of the omens' meaning Latinus consults the oracle of his father Faunus (82-4):

> . . . adit lucosque sub alta
> consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
> fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim.

From Circe's grove to the dark Tiber mouth to Albunea, the intensity grows. As in the case of Circe, the situation plays on the senses of hearing and smelling as well as sight. Like the Tiber's stream, this grove is *opaca.* But whereas Circe charmed by burning cedar, Faunus presents his prediction of blood and dominion from a spot that breathes fierce sulphur (*saevam mephitim*). Circe, *dea saeva,* misleads by a presentable exterior. Faunus' words issue from an Acheron which exhales a ghastly odor.

Again the words are anticipatory. Juno we soon find calling on the Underworld since loftier aids have failed her in the task of hindering the Trojans (312):

> flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

Her instrument, Allecto, purpose fulfilled, returns to Hell in the valley of Ampsanctus (563-71). This too has a dark grove and roaring stream (*torto vertice torrens,* 567—and we recall the Tiber, *verticibus rapidis*). There a cave lets forth the breath

Circe's land and of the goddess herself (e.g. *tremulo lumine,* VII, 9, *tremulum lumen,* VIII, 22; *luna,* VII, 9, *lunae,* VIII, 23; *solis,* VII, 11, *sole,* VIII, 23). Circe is associated with both the sun and the moon at the opening of Book VII. By VII, 526-7 the sun gleams off the shields of the newly armed rustics (*aeraque fulgent / sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant*). By the start of Book VIII Turnus, his allies, and the dangers they present have become the "constellations" which trouble Aeneas' mind (*tremulum labris . . . lumen aenis / sole repercussum*: VIII, 22-3).

from fierce Dis (*saevi spiracula Ditis*)—all this the product of Hell's bursting jaws (*rupto . . . ingens Acheronte vorago / pestiferas aperit fauces,* 569-70). Allecto, the goddess with the many masks for herself and others is the stench of Hell bursting forth. Faunus' utterance initiates this particular aspect of the evil. For whatever reason, Latinus allows the words to become public.[19] This in turn is responsible for starting *fama* on her way.

The next stage in the upheaval of Italy is the arrival on the scene of Juno, *saeva Iovis coniunx,* who with her pawn puts the power of Circe into operation. Virgil has already read us a lesson on the futility of ambition and search for reputation, but it is for the sake of these very goals (*honor,* 332; *fama,* 333) that she feels the need to act. Though Jupiter's vengeful wife might not have it so, this is the first step toward the fulfillment of Faunus' prophecy that the future Romans will see all things "turn" beneath their feet (*omnia sub pedibus . . . verti,* 101). It commences, ironically, with a further display of Juno's hatred and with her appeal to the multiform Allecto. So variable is the creature that at the moment of her attack on Turnus she puts off her menacing face and fury's limbs (*torvam faciem et furalia membra,* 415) to become an old priestess of Juno (*in vultus sese transformat anilis,* 416). She assumes her true form again when he treats her lightly (*tanta . . . se facies aperit,* 448). But her metamorphoses are only aspects of the changes she effects in others—to release the pent up violence and irrational hatreds inherent in us all.

Among her many talents is the ability to turn brothers against each other and overthrow homes by hatred (*odiis versare domos,* 336). She sees in the maddening of Amata the perfect example of this (*omnem . . . domum vertisse Latini,* 407). Amata becomes a plaything, a top, in her hands, spun into action by twists of a lash (*torto verbere,* 378). Here the way was prepared because her victim was already enraged at the coming of the Trojans (345).[20]

[19] According to Servius in a strong comment, Latinus thereby loses a reason *quo a se repelleret generos.*

[20] The change in Amata is echoed in the alteration from *Turni hymenaeis* (344) to *Phrygiis hymenaeis* (358). This in turn becomes the "marriage" of Trojan and Latin at 555-6 which is closely conjoined to the *sanguis novus* that Juno realizes must stain the warriors.

Juno boasts of Allecto's power to bring the scourge and funeral torch under roofs (*verbera tectis / funereasque inferre faces*, 336-7).[21] Both these objects serve in the metamorphosis of Turnus which is her next accomplishment. She sounds her scourges, hurls a torch at him, and fixes under his heart smoking brands (456-7):

> ... facem iuveni coniecit et atro
> lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas.

The deed echoes Juno's evaluation of Aeneas as a new Paris (319-22):

> ... nec face tantum
> Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis,
> quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter
> funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae.

Juno's rage may be once more in the open, but it is the idea of Aeneas and what he stands for that Allecto "throws" at Turnus. At this fear "breaks" his sleep (*rumpit*, 458), sweat bursts forth from his body (*proruptus*, 459). Love of the sword rages in him (*saevit*) as he makes his way to Latinus, the peace violated (*polluta pace*, 467).

Allecto's next victim is Aeneas' son. She maddens his hounds and, as we have seen, he is set afire with love of praise.[22] This emotion wells up inside him, but the metaphor puts him squarely in the tradition of Amata and Turnus. The whole incident Virgil acknowledges to be that (481-2)

> . . . quae prima laborum
> causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis.

Iulus has appeared once before in Book VII as the unwitting interpreter of the oracle of the "tables" to be eaten. The harpy Celaeno in anger had prophesied that the Trojans would reach their destined land in such a state of hunger as to be

[21] She also sounds her whip against Turnus (*verbera insonuit*, 451). Tisiphone uses the same instrument at VI, 558.

[22] In one sense Iulus anticipates Allecto's efforts. We know that she is a goddess given to *iraeque insidiaeque* (326). Iulus is already at work chasing wild beasts *insidiis cursuque* (478) when Allecto arrives on the scene. *Ira* (508) aids in the result.

driven to eat their tables. On reaching Italy they are indeed compelled to eat the crusts due Ceres. Virgil's words make clear that such action is profane. Yet it fulfills Celaeno's prophecy, as Iulus announces. To this Virgil comments (117-18)

> ea vox audita laborum
> prima tulit finem . . . .

This may be the end of one phase of Aeneas' *labores,* but Iulus' action in shooting the stag, as the verbal echoes make clear, is the beginning of another. Like the attack on the Harpies' herds, this is an unnecessary onslaught against the animal world. The Trojans are not fully blameless as they now themselves present a literal cause for war.[23]

Juno puts her *extremam manum* (572-3) to her plot as if this were some special work of art that deserved a final touch (we have heard twice before of Allecto's *ars*).[24] The injured shepherds, Turnus, and Amata all stream in to force Latinus' approval for the war. He remains momentarily firm, like a cliff against which waves "bark" (*latrantibus undis,* 588) while the rocks "roar" (*saxa fremunt,* 590). The Latins, too, are "dogs," and we have heard before of both Amata and Turnus "roaring."[25] But Juno (once more *saeva,* 592) wins the day. As his resolve breaks he curses Turnus (596-7):

> . . . te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
> supplicium votisque deos venerabere seris.

The goddess then breaks open the iron gates of War, a task Latinus refuses, and Italy arms for battle. These are the gates, Jupiter foretold in Book I, that will be closed at the coming of Augustus (I, 293-6):

> . . . dirae ferro et compagibus artis
> claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
> saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
> post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

[23] Of Allecto's part in the Iulus episode Servius remarks (on line 479) *studium mutavit in rabiem.* Here again the poet emphasizes the bitter uselessness of peace turned to war (536).

[24] Lines 338, 477.

[25] Lines 385, 460.

Juno's action merely gives symbolic confirmation to what we already knew, that Discordia-Furor was at large.[26]

It was one of Augustus' proudest boasts (it was incorporated in his *Res Gestae*) that the temple of Janus was closed three times during his regime whereas in all Roman history up to his time this had happened but twice before (*Res Gestae,* 13). In the same work he also gives his thoughts on war and peace (*Res Gestae,* 3):

> Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum suscepi victorque omnibus superstitibus civibus peperci. Externas gentes quibus tuto ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere malui.

The crucial *tuto,* "in safety," in the second sentence may be defended as sop to necessary expediency. The first statement is more open to doubt. We are dealing with times which Tacitus called a *pacem cruentam* (*Ann.,* I, 10). In the same paragraph Tacitus, while talking of Augustus, raises a moral issue which has some bearing on the end of the *Aeneid.* It is morally correct, the historian says, to give up private hatreds in favor of public needs (*privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere*). In Tacitus' eyes Augustus was in this respect constantly delinquent. What of Virgil's Aeneas? Is his killing of Turnus an example of private hatred or of public need?

The opening of the gates of War gives Virgil the occasion for listing Aeneas' opponents.[27] The catalogue as a whole is a fascinating example of poetic artistry. I would like to dwell here only on the way Virgil describes the figure of Aeneas' arch enemy (783-92):

> ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus
> vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est.
> cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram
> sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis;
> tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis
> quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.

[26] The "turning" of War's hinges (*cardine verso,* 621) is the final example of peace overturned by war.

[27] Virgil's prayer to the Muses is *pandite nunc Helicona.* The muses must fling open Helicon as if the mountain had gates. Juno releases *Furor* from the gates of War. It takes many shapes in the subsequent catalogue of warriors.

et levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos,
argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus,
caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.

Two pieces of his armor, crest and shield, are given the equal stress of four lines.[28] Each summarizes and anticipates much. The crest is topped by a Chimaera, roaring and wild, revelling in fire and the blood of battle. He is associated with three beasts at once, lion, dragon, and goat. The ambiguity of *vertitur* (and to a lesser degree *vertice*), to "be turned" as well as simply to "move," shows the power of Circe at work for the most impressive time in Book VII. The Chimaera, the hollow image that frightens Aeneas on his way to Hades, is loose now as Turnus, Aeneas' dehumanized opponent.

The shield carries Io, *iam saetis / obsita, iam bos*—an even closer connection with the *saetigeri sues* Circe creates. In the myth itself Juno effected the transformation from human to beast as she does here through her power to enrage. To effect such a monstrosity is the *argumentum ingens,* as well as the engraving itself. It is a madness that derives from Juno and Greece, not Italy, as the association with Argos which runs through the book proves. At 286 Juno has set out *Inachiis ab Argis* when she sights the Trojans already established on the Latian shore. At 372 Amata, by then insane, boasts of Turnus' ancestry as

Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae.

At VI, 89 the Sibyl styles him *alius Achilles,* a boast which he utters himself at IX, 742. He is made to assume the ancient Greek enmity rediscovered as well as the native Italic wildness rearoused. Antagonism would come to Aeneas all the easier.[29]

[28] For a different, more detailed treatment of these lines see S. G. P. Small, "The Arms of Turnus: *Aeneid* 7. 783-92," *T.A.P.A.*, XC (1959), pp. 243-52. See also R. D. Williams, "The Function of Virgil's Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7," *C.Q.*, n.s. XI (1961), pp. 152-3.

[29] The phrase *ipse inter primos* is used of Pyrrhus at II, 479 and of Aeneas at XII, 579. We might expect a further echo of Greek destructiveness in our first full description of Turnus. The metamorphosis of Aeneas into violent "Greek" is a more subtle one but crucial for our understanding of the epic's finale.

But Virgil is more careful than to make Turnus the emblem of reason and order overthrown in favor of some Boschian grotesquerie. He associates Turnus with one more *argumentum ingens,* the belt of the dead Pallas that he dons and which contains (X, 497-8):

> impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
> caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti.

The Danaids are also Argive, in direct line from Io. Turnus inherits their crime and elicits from Virgil a broader generality (X, 501-2):

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
> et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis.

This is the pattern that Nisus, Euryalus, and Camilla follow. It afflicts mankind, whether Trojan or Italian. But there is always Hypermnestra, the one Danaid who had the heroism to spare her husband and blot out a tradition of violence by the courage of restraint.

Aeneas kills Turnus at the end of the epic because he sees the belt of Pallas.[30] Turnus is even then fulfilling the curse of Latinus. As *supplex,* with knee bent, he entreats forgiveness and at the same time pays a penalty for rashness. He is symbol of a humbled race. Latinus had attached to him the guilt of a *nefas* and he now wears around his waist an *immensum nefas* that reminds his antagonist of a nearer act of violence. Aeneas kills him and offers him as sacrifice to Pallas. The verb *immolat* (XII, 949) is the same as Virgil uses to describe Aeneas' seizure of the sons of Ufens as human offering on the pyre of Pallas (X, 519).[31] Turnus is the last victim of Aeneas' *saeva dolor.*[32]

[30] The most recent treatment of the final scene is by R. D. Williams, *op. cit.* (n. 12 above), especially pp. 36 f. (". . . it is certain that the poem ends with our thoughts concentrated on the tragedy of Turnus, not the triumph of Rome"). A cogent expression of this new, more realistically honest evaluation of Aeneas is given by L. A. MacKay "Hero and Theme in the *Aeneid,*" *T. A. P. A.*, XCIV (1963), pp. 157-66, especially 164 ff.

[31] The sacrifice is made ready at XI, 81 ff. The only other use of *immolo* in the *Aeneid* is at X, 541.

[32] We have seen the frequent use of *saevus* in association with the

The action results, one suspects, from what Tacitus would call a *privatum odium*. Aeneas' temper is not one to wrestle more than momentarily with his father's lofty sentiments to spare the conquered and beat down the proud (*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*). That Turnus is *superbus* (and therefore deserves defeat) we have often heard. We have not yet seen Aeneas confronted with an ancient enemy at last cowed into submission. The moment is crucial to the *Aeneid* and Rome. Virgil's words calculate a mood of wrath, not magnanimity in his hero. He is burned by rage and terrifying in his wrath (*furiis accensus et ira terribilis*, 946-7). Aeneas, as Virgil chooses to portray him, is now on equal spiritual footing with Amata (whose matrons are *furiis accensas*) and Turnus in Book VII.[33] Each succumbs to *ira* under the influence of *furor*. The difference is that in Book XII Aeneas has the help of Jupiter and the *Dira* in

enemies of Aeneas in Book VII. It is curious how often the adjective is attached to the hero himself in Book XII. Only at XII, 406 and 609 is it connected with Turnus (at 406 *saevus horror* creeps nearer the wounded Aeneas as Turnus momentarily has the upper hand; at 629 Juturna tries to persuade her brother to bring *saeva funera* to the Trojans). The instances are 107 (Aeneas is *maternis saevus in armis*), 498 (Aeneas effects *saevam nullo discrimine caedem*), 849 (Jupiter, *saevus rex*), 857 (the Dira as an arrow armed with the venom *saevi veneni*), 888 (Aeneas speaks *saevo pectore*), 890 (Aeneas and Turnus fight *saevis armis*), 945 (Aeneas recalls his *saevi doloris*). H. Benario ("The Tenth Book of the *Aeneid*," *T.A.P.A.*, XCVIII [1967], p. 35) points out that in the epic Aeneas alone (and he only at X, 878) is called *saevissime*.

It is curious, too, that Aeneas is called *heros* only until XII, 502, yet Turnus is given this designation at XII, 723 and 902. (This is not to make any specific defense of the "character" of Turnus who, at X, 443, can go so far as to wish Evander present at the death of his son.)

[33] VII, 392. Can we speak of any character "development" in Aeneas when wrath and madness are the very vices to which he succumbs in Book II (*furor iraque mentem praecipitat*: II, 316-17). That the results of each encounter are pointless seems not to have suppressed the emotion. It is scant defense of the actual killing of Turnus to say (as Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien*, p. 23) that it, unlike a similar event in Troy, is just because done in accordance with fate. It is fate (if we can judge from Jupiter's final words—we would scarcely guess it from the context) for Juno to give up her *furor* and the two peoples to merge happily into one. Turnus' death is never once intimated to be fated, in spite of his own predictions.

humbling Turnus and yet the advantage of Anchises' schooling in necessary generosity.

The Roman, his father had warned in Book VI, pursues greater arts than bronze-casting and sculpture, rhetoric or astronomy. He moulds people to his rule and makes peace a custom. But the closing scene of the *Aeneid* is scarcely pacific. To practise one's arts on human beings and not on metal or stone requires greater control than Aeneas can muster. We would hope that the cycle of quasi-fraternal violence that runs through the last six books of the *Aeneid* might come to an end at its conclusion. Virgil is more realistic than to tell us so.[34]

One of the great points of value in the *Aeneid* is to serve as a reminder (to us certainly, to Augustus, if he was wise) of natural unrest in society which must be held in control. A certain turbulence is important in the creative individual as well as in mankind as a whole. But the forcing of individual irrationalities on society can do it fatal harm, especially when these disorders are imposed by its rulers themselves, or even offered by them as models.

The questions which linger at the end of the *Aeneid* are worth constant asking. Can, or better does, Furor remain suppressed as Rome goes about her supposed work of civilization? Can peace ever be made into a fixed tradition when any such "custom" is ever at the mercy of human caprice? By the end of Book VI, through the intellectual guidance of his father, Aeneas has become the incorporation of the dream of Rome, the embodied founder of a myth. Yet Virgil, by having him exit by the gate of *falsa insomnia*, allies him with the *Somnia vana* and other monsters, the centaurs, gorgons and chimaeras that cluster around Hell's gate. In Book VII the creatures seem to be at large in the persons of Aeneas' opponents. Aeneas does "suffer" them ultimately. He sets them free. During the course of the last books, and especially at the conclusions of Books X and XII, Aeneas undergoes a similar metamorphosis. From *pius*, faithful to his father's words, he becomes forgetful.[35] Circe, the

[34] Those who see in Aeneas a gradual development or perfecting of self-discipline (as, e.g., Austin on Book II, p. xvi) or *pietas* (as K. Quinn, *Vergil's Aeneid*, pp. 17 and 123) avert their thoughts from the thorough gruesomeness of the endings of Books X and XII.

[35] The word *pius* is stressed at the opening of Book VII (*pius*

beast-maker, and Juno, the arouser of Hell's fury, have the final say. The dream is proved false by the hero's actions. He becomes as much the representative of life's irrationality as Allecto, with her Gorgon's locks, or Turnus with a Chimaera for crest.

Daedalus, the brilliant artisan of Apollo's temple at Cumae, by overreaching is the cause of his son's death. Augustus, for all his accomplishments, will see Marcellus dead. Virgil's regular pattern leads us to expect that Aeneas will lose Pallas. By killing Turnus, however, he fails in the craftsmanship of empire, a deeper fault to suffer because self-inflicted. He is blind to Turnus as symbol of anything beyond momentary, individualistic concerns. By the middle of the sixth book Aeneas is purged of empathy with the past. Palinurus, Dido, and Deiphobus pass in final review emotions no longer relevant. Aeneas cannot even embrace his dead father who becomes a persona of the future.[36] He has become at last an original, originating being with an historical mission, the standard and emblem of a whole people. The birth of the hero is the birth of a city in Book VIII. Lavinia is only the Italian shores at last claimed and Iulus only the ancestor of a noble line. The propulsion of personal momentum now lies with Turnus and his confrères, in his love for Lavinia, in the wildness of Camilla. But the public espousal of the future, the parade of heroes watched and the glorious shield raised, cannot wholly eliminate private involvements and sufferings. In Aeneas' case these seem finally to triumph over any attempt to follow Anchises' philosophical exhibit.

In this version of the timeless conflict between moral stance and individual action, the latter wins, as is its wont. Aeneas,

Aeneas, 5; *pii Troes*, 21). In Book XII Aeneas is called *pius* only until line 311. By the end he has come a long way from the dutiful son who supported his father on lowered shoulders (*subiecta colla*, II, 721). Someone else is now *subiectus* and Aeneas, for the worse, has freed himself from any spiritual *impedimenta*. He cannot bear the weight of his father's historical and moral revelation. The "dream" is false.

[36] The words which describe the meeting (VI, 700-2) echo Eurydice's disappearance from Orpheus (*Georg.*, IV, 499-502). They are the same as *Aeneid*, II, 792-4, where Creusa leaves Aeneas. Anchises is like swift sleep, his story of future Rome is Aeneas' dream.

Virgil assures us with frequency, yearns for equity and peace. The *lacrimae rerum*, life's inherent tragedy, have left too many scars for immediate emotion to be a constant resort. As he tells Iulus before the final debacle, his son may learn of courage and suffering from him, not good fortune. There is a lofty, heroic side to Rome which Aeneas must embody. In any groping toward civilization there must also be a continuing search for honest justice and here Aeneas—and Rome—pay the price for their humanity. Aeneas is no idealized fiction, finally purged of ignoble human emotions, an automaton operated only by an unreal impetus toward impossible goals. Personal passion gains full control of reason at the moment of final crisis.

Even were the epic to end with praise of Aeneas, as it clearly does not, we would still sense that the cycle of madness would begin again. That Virgil turned down so clearly the opportunity for a fraudulent appraisal of human existence is perhaps our greatest compliment to the poet and his poem.[37]

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[37] It is becoming a fashion to speak of the public and private aspects of the *Aeneid* as if they were somehow separable (their true interconnection is shown by A. Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion*, II [1963], pp. 66 f.). I would agree that we must not overreact against the long-standing, debilitating view of the *Aeneid* as only a glorification of Augustan Rome. But in seeking a mean line between the horror and the glory we need not at the same time partition the poet's Muse. The "private" voice may on occasion offer the most desperately "public" of utterances.

OBSERVATIONS ON CATULLUS 5.

The theory of "the two Catulluses" was very popular until a few decades ago, and even now there are a few scholars who adhere to it. It rested on the belief that there is a fundamental difference between Catullus' long poems and the short ones. The long poems were regarded as labored and learned, while most of the short ones seemed to accord perfectly with the romantic notion that poetry is "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" (Wordsworth). W. Kroll expressed it this way: "In the first place, there are two aspects of Catullus: there is the Alexandrian weighed down by the burden of tradition, and there is the spontaneous, primitive child of nature." A. Baehrens said: "In his carminibus minoribus poeta ita evolvit sine studiis longe inpensis pectoris cogitationes, ita tantummodo sicut res tulit ipsiusque animus impulit loquitur. . . ." Wilamowitz noted that most of Catullus' poems are "children of the moment. An experience, a mood created them; how much the hand of the artist improved on them afterward, we do not know; there are seldom traces of it." A. Riese characterized the author of the short pieces as a "simple, naive poet" (*Naturdichter*); W. S. Teuffel called him a "thoughtless, charming barbarian" (*unbedachter, liebenswürdiger Wildling*); E. T. Merrill, speaking of the Lesbia poems, said Catullus "poured forth his feelings most simply and unrestrainedly in a series of charming trifles"; and E. M. Blaiklock tells us that Catullus "despised conscious art . . . in spite of some Alexandrian exercises" and wrote poetry which was "no longer a mere work of art, but a free overflowing of feeling." As for poem 5, Merrill labelled it "mere childlike delight in multitudinous kisses," and very recently a German scholar, A. Klinz, has called it the "anguished outcry" of an unhappy young man, which "flowed from his pen all at once (*in einem Zuge*), he did not use the file on it nor devise a plan of construction." [1]

[1] W. Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus* (ed. 3, 1959; reprint, Stuttgart, 1968), p. vii. I owe the translation to K. Quinn, *The Catullan Revolution* (Melbourne, 1959), p. 30. But Kroll also says, p. viii: "Bei

But today different views prevail concerning the nature of poetry, and these views show some marked similarities with those of the neoterics and Catullus.[2] The focus has shifted from inspiration to craftsmanship and design. Paul Valéry, for instance, spoke of a poet as an "architect" and "engineer"; H. M. Enzensberger speaks of the "technology" of a poem; T. S. Eliot dedicated the *Wasteland* to Ezra Pound as "il miglior fabbro"; Gottfried Benn said that "a poem does not come about, it is made"; and Edith Sitwell stated that "poetry is primarily an art, and not a dumping-ground for emotions."[3] The romantics (to use a label) tended to explain a poem in terms of the poet's personal experience, of whatever nature,

näherem Zusehen wird man die Einheit der dichterischen Persönlichkeit in den grossen und kleinen Gedichten nicht verkennen." Most other scholars were not as perceptive. A. Baehrens, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 41; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachus*, II (1924; reprint, Berlin, 1962), p. 305; A. Riese, *Die Gedichte des Catullus* (Leipzig, 1884), p. xxi; W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, I (Leipzig, 1916; reprint, Aalen, 1965), p. 521; E. T. Merrill, *Catullus* (1893; reprint, Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. xix; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Romanticism of Catullus* (Auckland, 1959), pp. 5 and 10; Merrill, *loc. cit.*; A. Klinz, *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht*, X (1967), p. 39.

[2] See, e. g., Quinn, *op. cit., passim.*

[3] P. Valéry, *Poésie et pensée abstraite* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 23 f. The following is particularly to the point, pp. 21 f.: "On sent bien devant un beau poème qu'il y a peu de chances pour qu'un homme, aussi bien doué que l'on voudra, ait pu improviser sans retours, sans autre fatigue que celle d'écrire ou de dicter, un système suivi et complet d'heureuses trouvailles. Comme les traces de l'effort, les reprises, les repentirs, les quantités de temps, les mauvais jours et les dégoûts ont disparu, effacés par le suprême retour de l'esprit sur son oeuvre, certains qui ne voient que la perfection du résultat, le regarderont comme dû à une sorte de prodige qu'ils appellent INSPIRATION." H. M. Enzensberger, "Wie entsteht ein Gedicht?," in *Ars Poetica. Texte von Dichtern des 20. Jahrhunderts zur Poetik.* Edited by Beda Allemann (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 7. G. Benn, *Probleme der Lyrik* (Wiesbaden, 1951), p. 6: "Da ist eine Heidelandschaft oder ein Sonnenuntergang, und da steht ein junger Mann, hat eine melancholische Stimmung, und nun entsteht ein Gedicht. Nein, so entsteht kein Gedicht. Ein Gedicht entsteht überhaupt sehr selten, ein Gedicht wird gemacht." E. Sitwell, *Poetry and Criticism* (London, 1926), p. 34. All these poets are indebted ultimately to Edgar Allen Poe, especially his *Philosophy of Composition.*

that lay behind and inspired the poem, and to appraise its quality by the degree of spontaneity, intensity, and personal sincerity with which the poem, in the opinion of the critic, reproduced this experience. Actually, of course, this "experience" often was largely the creation of the critic's speculation, frequently by inference from the poem itself. It is now generally agreed that whatever the poet's experience which occasioned a poem, in the very process of the making of the poem, by the selection and arrangement of the words, the symbols, the experience is changed from the world of reality to a different sphere, that of poetic reality, and the poem itself becomes the "experience." The origins of the poem therefore are not primarily, if at all, relevant to the concern of the critic, which is the poem itself and its art.[4] The words of T. S. Eliot are to the point: "But if, either on the basis of what poets try to tell you, or by biographical research, with or without the tools of the psychologist, you attempt to explain a poem, you will probably be getting further and further away from the poem without arriving at any other destination. The attempt to explain the poem by tracing it back to its origins will distract attention from the poem, to direct it on to something else which, in the form in which it can be apprehended by the critic and his readers, has no relation to the poem and throws no light upon it." [5]

When the short poems of Catullus were studied as autonomous works of art rather than as the lyric effusions of an excitable young man, the conception favored by the 19th century proved to be either inadequate or irrelevant, and the essential unity of Catullus' work has been convincingly demonstrated. Otto Friess, J. P. Elder, Kenneth Quinn, and others have helped us appreciate that the short poems, with all their subjectivity and "spontaneity," are, on the whole, and barring differences among them in "levels of intent" (Quinn), as "learned" in their employment of literary traditions, as consciously artful, and as carefully constructed as are the long poems.[6] Alfred Ramminger has

[4] See, e. g., Cleanth Brooks, *Modern Poetry and the Tradition* (Chapel Hill, 1939), p. 59; U. Knoche, "Erlebnis und dichterischer Ausdruck in der lateinischen Poesie," *Gymnasium*, LXV (1958), pp. 148 ff.

[5] T. S. Eliot, *The Three Voices of Poetry* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 18 f.

[6] O. Friess, *Beobachtungen zur Darstellungskunst Catulls* (Würzburg, 1929); J. P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry," *H. S. C. P.*, LX (1951), pp. 101-36; K.

shown that the qualities of *ars* and *doctrina* also mark that perennial favorite, poem 5.[7] The interest in the intellectual aspects of this poem was stimulated further by a short paper by H. L. Levy, published in 1941 in this Journal. Levy made the ingenious suggestion that in lines seven to nine we are to see Catullus as keeping count of Lesbia's kisses on an abacus board, first placing a calculus in the thousands column, then one in the hundreds column, and after repeating this three times, as shaking the abacus to obliterate the count. R. Pack, also in this Journal, objected that this theory is incompatible with the spirit and the dramatic situation of the poem, but proposed instead that Catullus counted off the numbers of the kisses on his fingers. The number theme, of arithmetic or calculation, has dominated almost all subsequent critical comment on the poem. J. H. Turner, in a study of elementary Roman mathematics, endorsed Levy's theory; N. T. Pratt, in a paper entitled "The Numerical Catullus," speaks of Catullus' "inventory . . . given in terms of computation on an abacus"; K. Quinn says lines 7-11 "are deliberately phrased in a language the *senes severiores* understand—the language of business transactions"; H. A. Khan speaks of the poem's "money-theme, or more accurately, that of counting"; S. Commager considers "the reckoning of the kisses merely one part of a complex dialectic of numbers," and remarks that "Catullus, the impetuous lover, yet stands, we might say, partly on the side of the *senes severiores*, as he coolly enumerates what he would have remain innumerable"; and R. E. Grimm accommodates both the theories of Levy and Pack, elaborates on Pratt's observations on the "arithmetical theme" of the poem, and proposes that a "business" ("mercantile," "commercial") theme runs through the poem as a "leitmotiv" concurrently with the love theme.[8]

Quinn, *op. cit.* Conversely, it has been recognized that the long poems are infused with lyric elements, of personal involvement, emotional intensity, and self-revelation, to a much greater extent than had previously been seen. See, e.g., K. Quinn, *op. cit.*, and M. Putnam, "The Art of Catullus 64," *H.S.C.P.*, LXV (1961), pp. 165-205.

[7] A. Ramminger, *Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu Catulls Basiagedichten* (Würzburg, 1937).

[8] H. L. Levy, *A.J.P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 222-4; R. Pack, *A.J.P.*, LXXVII (1956), pp. 47-51; J. H. Turner, *C.J.*, XLVII (1951), p. 74;

Obviously, the study of the poem has progressed a long way since Merrill's appraisal of it as "mere child-like delight in multitudinous kisses." Nevertheless, the emphasis on the intellectual aspects has diverted attention from the emotionality of the poem. What are the relative functions of intellect and emotion in the poem? We may ask, for instance, how it can be true that through the arrangement of the numbers (of kisses) the poet expresses "the wildness of passion," as Kroll has said (*ad loc.*), and also that by this same arrangement the poet "coolly enumerates" the kisses, as Commager has remarked. It would seem, at least, that the two statements exclude each other, and that to express a call to passionate love by coolly enumerating, or by using the language of businessmen, would show an inept lover, make for a cold mistress, and result in a bad poem. Yet this is, in a sense, what the poet does, and he has written an exquisite poem. For a balanced interpretation it is necessary, I believe, to observe the essentially dramatic-rhetorical-protreptic character of the poem. It is neither an amorous outburst by the poet *malgré lui* nor a little intellectual game he plays for his own delight. It is first and last a love poem addressed to Lesbia, and intended to have a particular effect on her. The following is an attempt to appreciate the poem as a summons to love, whose constituent elements, of verbal statement, formal artistry, and oral effect, are designed to advance the poet's appeal and render it successful.[9]

N. T. Pratt, *C.P.*, LI (1956), p. 99; K. Quinn, *op. cit.*, p. 109, n. 21; H. A. Khan, *Latomus*, XXVI (1967), p. 610; S. Commager, *C. J.*, LIX (1964), pp. 362-3; R. E. Grimm, *C.J.*, LIX (1963), pp. 15-22.

[9] Cf. J. P. Elder, *op. cit.*, p. 106: "We should seek to find out what a poet was hoping and trying to do in a poem . . . and then, what methods and techniques he thought fit and right for the purpose." E. Burck, *Vom Menschenbild in der römischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 228: "Die unmittelbare Wirkung (of poems 5 and 7) beruht in erster Linie auf ihrem dialogisch-dramatischen Charakter." Also p. 232: "Die Verse waren für die Geliebte bestimmt und haben hoffentlich . . . ihre werbende Wirkung nicht verfehlt." Cf. p. 208. At the same time, as Eliot said (*op. cit.*, p. 6), "a good love poem, though it may be addressed to one person, is always meant to be overheard by other people."

It would be otiose to speculate whether Catullus wrote the poem at the very beginning of his affair with Lesbia or at some time later.

The poem can be divided into three major parts. Line one states the theme, the invitation to love, lines two to six offer two appeals in support of the proposition, lines seven to thirteen present the direct request for love and a provision to protect it.[10]

Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus!

The exhortation contains a charming *captatio benevolentiae.* The name "Lesbia" suggests that, whatever the woman's real identity, she inspires Catullus' poetry as well as his love, that for him she evokes and embodies the glamor and fascination of Lesbos, the traditions of poetry and love, and in particular the quality of Sappho "the Tenth of the Muses," of beauty, passion, and intelligence. The associations of the name are illustrious and imposing, of ancient date and wide-spread fame.[11] By saying "*mea Lesbia*" the poet attracts these associations to his private sphere and introduces an atmosphere of personal intimacy and affection. The thematic hortatory words *vivamus* and *amemus* enclose "Lesbia" and thus point to her as the center of the poet's life and love. The verbs mean not so much "Let us live life fully *and* let us love" as "Let us live in the fullest and most meaningful sense of that word, that is, let us love."[12]

In either case it is an exhortation to love. The interpretation of Klinz, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, is instructive in the sense that it completely fails to appreciate the rhetorical-protreptic nature of the poem: Line one is "als Mahnung an die Geliebte Lesbia hinausgeschrieen, um die Qual des liebenden und unendlich leidenden Herzens zu beteuben." Lines four to six are the center whose "Erlebnis ist für Catullus tödlich . . . das Ende ist Verzweiflung . . . das fast kosmisch zu nennende Einsamkeitsgefühl des Dichters. . . . So wird das Gedicht zum Ausdruck eines tragischen Welt—und Lebensgefühls." I can also find no evidence for the view of W. M. A. Grimaldi, *C.P.*, LX (1965), p. 92, that beneath the surface of the poem (and of poem 7), "lies the poet's sense of chagrin and frustration over his realization that his love is neither understood nor returned." For a good impression of what ancient lyric is not, see E. Staiger, *Grundbegriffe der Poetik* (Zürich, 1961), pp. 13-82.

[10] On asymmetry as a characteristic of Catullus' style, see O. Friess, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-2.

[11] On the name "Lesbia," see G. Lieberg, *Puella Divina* (Amsterdam, 1962), pp. 82-95.

[12] So, e. g., G. Friedrich, *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1908), *ad loc.*: "*vivamus, id est amemus.*" Note that, according to

Within its Roman context this appeal was no tired literary cliché. In its pungent brevity, and in the light especially of the following two lines, it shows a definite flair, a splendid audacity, for the proposition that really to live means to love, the advocacy in effect of love as a way of life, and this in express defiance of all criticism, meant to fly in the face of convention, to challenge the Roman canons of morality and rationality. The *mores et virtutes maiorum* prescribed that love for a woman as a primary concern was unworthy of a good man, to be tolerated at most as a temporary aberration of youth. The respectable life was the *vita activa* in the service of the state, or at least in the public sphere, as orator, administrator, soldier, farmer, or (big) businessman, and even one's *otium* was expected to be dignified, devoted preferably to the pursuit of moral and political philosophy.[13]

Thus the exhortation of the first verse engages the attention of the reader and was sure to evoke in Lesbia a response, a typically Roman concern for name and reputation (*bona* resp. *mala fama*), something like "But what would people say?" The poet anticipates this reaction:

> Rumoresque senum severiorum
> Omnes unius aestimemus assis.

The *rumores* would be malicious gossip and criticism, such as *nequitia, desidia, culpa, inopia, stulti mores, insania, furor, turbo mentis, amentia, vita iners,* and perhaps worse.[14] The poet

Lieberg, *op. cit.*, p. 93, the pseudonym "Lesbia" probably also suggested a "totales Aufgehen in der Liebe" and was a symbol for the poet's "Dasein in der Liebe."

[13] See, e. g., E. Burck, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-13; K. Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 f.; A. W. Allen, "Elegy and the Classical Attitude toward Love: Propertius I, 1," *Y. C. S.*, XI (1950), pp. 253-77. Catullus' attitude toward love apparently was something entirely new in Roman (and Greek) literature and does not have a real precedent even in Roman comedy. Cf. E. Burck, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 f.: "Erst Catull und die Neoteriker haben die Liebe in dem Sinne ernst genommen, dass sie ein Leben in der Liebe als einen Wert anerkannten, der sich den überlieferten Normen der privaten und öffentlichen Lebens- und Wertordnung zur Seite stellen, ja sich ihnen vielleicht sogar überordnen liess."

[14] On the pejorative terminology of love, see, e. g., Burck, *op. cit.*, pp. 191 ff., and Allen, *loc. cit.*

says *senum severiorum* not merely because the expression is more vivid and personal than would be such abstracts as "society" or "people," but also because it was proverbially the *senes*, especially in patriarchal, tradition-bound Rome, who were the most censorious moralizers, intolerant of love and pleasure, inimical to all that was different and new.[15] In the first line of the couplet the poet focuses on the *rumores* as such of the stern old men, and then in the second line, after a momentary pause, he takes them all up and qualifies them, *omnes*, "the whole lot of them, let us consider worth just one penny." The collocation of *omnes* and *unius* pinpoints the poet's evaluation. The hissing sibilants of the former line echo the hissing, snarling sounds of the *rumores senum severiorum;* the sibilants of the second line, in which the poet evaluates the *rumores*, emphasize his own disdain for them. He anticipates the hostility of his enemies and returns it with gusto.

The poet next anticipates a second reservation or objection from Lesbia, something like "Not now, perhaps some other day," and impresses upon her that there is no time to waste:

> Soles occidere et redire possunt,
> Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
> Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

The admonition is emphasized by imagery and antithesis, the great fiery orbs in the sky, the puny light of our life on earth, the black night of death underground. The image of the "suns" (nature) here connotes eternity, magnitude, power, splendor, plurality, while in contrast "the brief light" (our life) connotes ephemeralness, smallness, feebleness, and finality. The repetition of the verb *occidere* is subtly ironic and reinforces the contrast. With *soles* it is in the infinitive, without limitation by person, number, or modus, and means "to set," but applied to us it is in the finite form and means "to die." The limitlessness, expansiveness, and eternal recurrence of nature (the suns can and therefore do set and return) contrast with the limitedness, the constrictedness, and the singularity (*semel*) of our life. There is then no analogy but only a radical contrast between our life and that of nature, and the words *soles* and *lux*

[15] See Baehrens, *ad loc.*, with references.

stand in pointedly antithetical positions. But *nox*, replacing *lux*, is placed parallel to *soles*. The images contrast the black night of death underground with the brightness and warmth of the upper world, but in their permanence death and nature are alike (and hence parallel), in contrast to our life. The brevity of life is conveyed even syntactically. "Nature" and "death" each find expression in an independent main clause, but "our life" is given in a shortened (note the post-position of *cum*) dependent clause, dependent on and anticipating its main clause, the statement of "death." Our life, as it were, is a mere brief prelude to death.[16] The same impression is conveyed by the progressive shortening of *occidit brevis lux*, three syllables, two syllables, one syllable,[17] the end of the line, the extinction of life. Immediately then sets in death (*nox*), and a sense of its awesome, unchanging permanence is conveyed by the heavy, melancholy rhythm of the line and its long drawn-out polysyllables *perpetuuna dormienda*.[18] In the face of the splendorous suns who can and do set and return, our life is like a flickering, feeble light that, once extinguished, is followed by the one night of death which must be slept forever (note the contrast in *possunt* and *dormienda*, freedom and necessity). Surely, then, before this happens, and it will happen soon, *carpe diem*: *vivamus atque amemus.*

This is clearly the intended effect on Lesbia. Therefore, since the poet has anticipated her most likely objections and thus rendered her receptive to his quest, there now ensues his direct, intense, and passionate demand for love:

> Da mi basia mille, deinde centum,
> Dein mille altera, dein secunda centum,
> Deinde usque altera mille, deinde centum,
> Dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,
> Conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,
> Aut ne quis malus invidere possit,
> Cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.

[16] The impression is enforced by the syntactical ambiguity, if we regard *nobis* as dative of agent with *dormienda*.

[17] This was first noted, I believe, by W. C. Grummel, *C. B.*, XXXI (1954), p. 21.

[18] Note also that of the words *occidit brevis lux, lux* alone is unaccented and thereby rendered the more "frail," especially so because it is followed, in the next line, by the accented and totally dominant *nox*.

The poet demands many thousands of kisses in succession and well-nigh without a pause (*usque* and the double elision *dein-dusqualtera*), an impossible feat for even the most robust and ardent of lovers, a fantastic hyperbole. To the critical and unsympathetic observer, like the *senes*, this outpour would seem silly, indecorous to the point of offensiveness, and certainly completely irrational. But this is just the point. What the poet expresses is not decorum and rationality but passion, and every detail is designed to bring out this effect. The antithesis of love and the orthodox virtues is thematic in the whole poem. First life is in effect identified with love, love then is polemically asserted against the guardians of the traditional virtues, then love is given an immediate urgency by the *carpe diem* appeal, and now love is specified as passion, unrestrained, limitless, insatiate, the radical opposite of the traditional virtues of discipline, restraint, and rationality.

To appreciate these lines fully, we must be attuned to their rhetorical effect, of sound, rhythm, and movement. After the slow and solemn cadence of line six the *basia* lines, impelled by the monosyllabic accented imperative *da*, push forward in short, staccato thrusts. These "thrusts" are produced by the alliterative anaphoras (*da*), *deinde, dein, dein, deinde, deinde, dein.* Each anaphora is given force by an ictus, asserts and reasserts itself after each short breather within and at the ends of lines seven to nine, and launches the next short unit of words. The effect is a series of forward thrusting moves which propel the numbers of kisses, love's passion, toward more and more dizzying heights in a rhythm which correspondingly increases in speed and momentum. Thus the impetus of the movement carries beyond line nine[19] and, after being slightly inhibited by the deliberative effect of the *cum*-clause in line ten, receives some reinforcement from the strongly accented assertive effect of *conturbabimus* in line eleven. The momentum of these lines therefore is not exhausted until the end of line eleven after which, and a strong caesura, the new (*aut*) topos of *invidia* is introduced. Rhetorically, then, line eleven can be considered the

[19] According to this perspective, a comma rather than a period should be placed at the end of line nine (so, e. g., Merrill). With *dein* of line ten one expects the accumulation to continue.

culmination of the passion motif begun in line seven, and the listener or reader, moved along by the impetus of the movement, may well see line eleven at first as pinpointing and polarizing the thematic contrast between passion and rationality, *conturbare* vs. *scire*: "We will throw them into confusion, so that we do not know," that is, we will assert the confusion, the irrationality of passion (*conturbabimus*) over against knowledge and control (*ne sciamus*).[20] This initial impression is sustained by the more literal meaning of the line. The demand (*da*) for more and more kisses progresses to the assertion that "when we have completed many thousands, we will throw them into confusion," perhaps by adding a profusion of additional kisses, without count, in disordered multitude,[21] "so that we do not know (the count)," for *pauca petit qui numerare potest*,[22] that is, we will make sure to set no limit to our kisses, to the magnitude and exuberance of our passion.[23]

More than this, line eleven has a pivotal function in the poem, for when apprehended in direct conjunction with the following, last two lines, it bears yet a further significance, as part of the topos of *invidia*: "We will throw them (the count of the kisses) into confusion, so that we (ourselves) do not know (the count)," for to do so might bring us harm, as by attracting nemesis,[24] "or (*aut*) so that no evil man can look in on us (that is, can envy and put the evil eye on us), when he knows that there are (just) so many kisses."[25] By the pivotal function of line eleven the poem moves easily and quickly from the apex of passion to a relatively calm and rational conclusion. This turn, or development, is entirely uncontrived and natural, since the motif of

[20] The antithesis is underlined by the strong accent on *ne* (*sciamus*) and echoed by the words *ne* and *sciat* in lines twelve and thirteen. On the incompatibility of love and calculation, cf. Meleager, *Anth. Gr.*, XII, 117, and Agathias, *Anth. Gr.*, V, 267.

[21] So A. Riese, *ad loc.*

[22] Mart., VI, 34.

[23] Cf. Cat., 7; also Prop., II, 15, 29-30: *errat qui finem vesani quaerit amoris, // verus amor nullum novit habere modum.*

[24] C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford, 1961), *ad loc.*; Baehrens, *ad loc.*

[25] On the multiple significance of (some) individual words in poetry, cf. A. Parry, "Classical Philology and Literary Criticism," *Ventures. Magazine of the Yale Graduate School*, VII (1967), pp. 30-4; R. Musil, "Literat und Literatur," in *Ars Poetica* (Darmstadt, 1966), p. 183.

love's passion and bliss, expressed by the accumulation of multitudinous kisses, evoked almost automatically for ancient man the thought of the precariousness of such a love, and with it the need to protect it. Now, this precariousness is intimated also at the beginning of the poem, in the topoi of men's malice (2-3) and the brevity of life (4-6), and thereby the motif contributes to giving the poem a frame. Against the imminence of death the lovers are defenseless, but it lends to their love a poignant urgency. Against nemesis or some similar retribution the lovers can protect themselves by insuring their own ignorance of the count of their kisses, the precise measure of their bliss (11), and against the malice and envy of men (*senes severi, malus*) they can protect themselves by totally ignoring and disdaining them (2-3) and by preventing them from putting the evil eye on them (12-13).

The device of the frame has a significant function in the poem. The words *vivamus* and *amemus* enclose and focus attention on the recipient of the poem, *mea Lesbia* (1). *Vivamus* and *amemus* (1) and *basiorum* (13) frame the poem thematically as an exhortation to love and passion. The motif of a threat to this love points up its precariousness and hence its preciousness. Most important, by suggesting, at the same time, a defense against this threat the poet creates the impression of enclosing the poem, the private world of his and Lesbia's love, with a protective ring, as it were, to secure it against the malevolence and the envy of a hostile outside world.

If the appreciation of the poem so far is sound, we should note the remarkable fact that its rhetorical and rhythmical effect transcends its verbal statement, the exhortation to love, to intimate its goal: the actualization of love. Line one states the proposition. Lines two to six present the persuading and coaxing, the psychological preparation. With line seven sets in the drama of love, direct and immediate, moving with increasing intensity and excitement toward a climax in lines nine to eleven, and then quickly subsides to a state of calm and repose in the last two lines. The effect is both subtle and unmistakable. The intimation of the love act, of the poet making love to Lesbia, in a poem in which he courts her love, must be regarded an important element in the poem's design to make the suit successful.

The guardians of the *mores et virtutes maiorum* will condemn

this love. A close consideration of the poem suggests that the poet undercuts and neutralizes the censure of his critics by a subtle appeal to the same principles invoked by them, but applied in a different sense. The *senes severi* will object to the poet's and Lesbia's love on moral grounds. This being so, the use of the word *malus* in line twelve is significant, for it surely refers to the *senes severi*, the guardians of the moral code. It is true, of course, that *malus* is applied from the phrase *mala lingua*, and also that a man may call someone *malus* simply because he is an enemy, but the suggestion goes further. *Invidere* (12) means not only "to cast the evil eye" but also "to envy." Therefore, the association, or identification, of the *malus* and his envy with the *senes severi* shows them up as hypocrites, and their moral censure stands discredited.[26] The irony is obvious. The *severi* are not the *viri boni* they doubtless claim to be, and the lovers, in the light of the suggested advocacy in line one of love as a total commitment, assume a moral position, even if it is condemned by traditional prejudice.[27] The *severi* will also criticize this love as being irrational and foolish.[28] We have noted that the poet revels in his passion and asserts it, by implication, over against reason and restraint. This being so, the employment of the *carpe diem* motif is significant. This carefully designed appeal to the brevity of life and the imminence of death, when all consciousness is lost, the suggestion of the insignificance of man's life and the vanity of his ambitions, lends to the poet's call for love as the most meaningful life a rational validity of its own, even if it is not accepted by the traditional code.[29]

[26] Similarly, the elegists were to accuse the representatives of the respectable *vitae* of hypocrisy by claiming that their final motivation was *avaritia*. See Burck, pp. 199 f.

[27] The moral justification of the lover and his *vita* became a major concern of the elegists, with Ovid, as usual, assuming a somewhat special position. See Burck, pp. 191-207.

[28] On the traditional prejudice against love as being both immoral and irrational, cf. A. W. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-77.

[29] On the assertion of the irrationality of love in opposition to (traditional) wisdom (Catullus' *senes severi*), cf. Meleager, *Anth. Gr.*, XII, 101. But we also find the notion that for a mortal not to enjoy life fully, even to the exclusion of everything else, is not wisdom but foolishness: Amphis in Athen., VIII 336 c. A. Ramminger, *op. cit.*,

It is in this perspective that we can best appreciate the apparent paradox that the formal art which expresses this exhortation to unrestrained passion exhibits to a remarkable extent the very virtues of rationality, calculation, and control which this passion appears so pointedly to exclude. Most obvious are the very rationality of the poem's design, the calculated effectiveness with which the poet presents and develops his appeal, and in particular also the device of the poem's prophylactic frame. Further aspects of the poem's formal artistry have been identified by previous writers (see above), and they all have the same effect. The poem has rightly been called a "mosaic of literary motifs" (Ramminger), it is in truth marked by the formal qualities of balance and antithesis, it does employ "a complex dialectic of numbers" (the one and the many), the poet can validly be thought of as "coolly enumerating" the kisses, not only on his fingers but even, if one will, on an abacus, the poet does in fact employ a vocabulary with a secondary technical meaning from the world of accounting and banking (*aestimare, as, facere, conturbare*), a sphere of order and control, and diametrically opposed to that of passion and love.[30] These elements do not inhibit the poet's exhortation, they do not dissipate its impact or lessen its immediacy. For they are fully apprehended not on its primary dramatic-rhetorical level but upon closer examination and analysis. When appreciated on this level, they reinforce the impression that the poet turns the tables, so to speak, on his enemies, that he usurps the very virtues to which they appeal in condemning his love. The poet suggests that despite the paradox rationality is on the side of the lovers, that

p. 22, notes that (in this latter assertion) "zeigt sich nicht nur keine Einstellung gegen die *σοφία*, sondern diese wird in einem bestimmten Sinn kühn zur Aufforderung in Anspruch genommen." The charm of Catullus' poem lies (partly) in the fact that he employs both attitudes.

[30] *aestimare unius assis* "to set the price of one *as* on," *facere* "to make up, realize a sum," *conturbare* "to throw the account into confusion." See, especially, R. E. Grimm, *loc. cit.* But I do not believe that the words are functional as technical terms to the extent that one could speak, as Grimm does, of a business motif running as a *leitmotiv* through the poem concurrently with the love theme. In their technical (secondary) meaning the words help to establish the theme and atmosphere of reason and control to the end of rationalizing love, as a prop for love.

their love, which is their life, has its own logic and rationale, a raison d'être, by which it is sustained and justified, and that, perhaps, the final justification, intellectually and morally, of the claims of the lover-poet is the virtue of his art.

Inasmuch as "Lesbia" embodied the qualities of Sappho, that supreme combination of passion and intellect, we cannot but think that this charming protreptic, with its double appeal of emotion and reason, and wrought with flawless art, had the effect which the poet desired. What matters to us is that he wrote a beautiful poem, which may rightly be called one of the little jewels of world literature.

To sum up. The poem is Catullus' exhortation and invitation to Lesbia to love as the best life. It progresses from the statement of the theme, the call to love, to two appeals designed to remove Lesbia's most likely objections and render her receptive to his quest. Then ensues the direct, passionate demand for love, and a provision to protect this love. The poem is framed thematically by *vivamus, amemus,* and *basiorum,* and by the suggestion of a threat to love and the poet's design to make it secure. This evokes the impression of a protective fence laid around the poem, the world of love, and into this world the poet calls upon Lesbia to enter, while there is time. The rhythm and movement of the poem in oral recitation suggest proleptically the fulfillment of the poet's quest, the act of love. On closer examination the exhortation to love and passion can be seen to rest on rational principle, that is, to be justified both morally and intellectually, by the evaluation of love's enemies as *mali,* the *carpe diem* appeal, and the very rationality and discipline of the poem's art. By thus providing his exhortation to love with a higher rationale the poet gives it additional force and appeal.[31]

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[31] After this paper was completed, there appeared the interesting study of C. P. Segal, "Catullus 5 and 7: A Study in Complementaries," *A. J. P.*, LXXXIX (1968), pp. 284-301. Segal's emphasis is different from mine, but it is gratifying to note that he too recalls attention to the emotional force of the poem, e. g., p. 284: "The search for artistry and intellectual structure should not blind us to the real intensity which pervades these poems."

THE *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA* AND THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER CARACALLA.

Commodus' accession to the Imperial throne[1] ushered in a peaceful era for the Christians as well as for non-Christians. The long peace that was to last for the new religion until about the end of the century was broken only by a few local troubles, such as the case of the Scillitan martyrs in Carthage in July 180 A. D. and the prosecution of the noble Apollonius in Rome some time between 183 and 185 A. D. Then we have no more certain instances of persecution until about 197 A. D., when Septimius Severus established himself as the unchallenged emperor. This unusually long period of peace must, indeed, have appeared to Eusebius a great contrast to what he had to report concerning the rule of Commodus' great father and predecessor. The tragic reign of Marcus Aurelius was as disastrous for the Empire as it was for the Christians.[2] From almost the beginning to the very end of his rule, wars continued without any considerable interruptions. The circumstances around the year 167 A. D. were made even more tragic by a plague which was devastating the Empire for some years.[3] The general edict issued by the Emperor at that time ordered sacrifices throughout the Empire to placate the angry gods and triggered, most probably against the intentions of Marcus Aurelius, violent persecution of the Christians in several parts of the Empire, but especially in the Greek East.[4] Savage persecutions again

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.*, V, 9, 1; 16, 19.

[2] Paul Keresztes, "Marcus Aurelius a Persecutor?" *Harvard Theol. Review*, LXI (1968), pp. 321-41. For a detailed background of the persecutions from Marcus Aurelius to Decius, see W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church; A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford, 1965), especially chapters X-XII, pp. 268-388.

[3] Dio Cassius, LXXI, 2, 4; Orosius, VII, 15, 5 f.; *Vita Marci*, 13, 3 f.; 17, 2; 21, 6; *Vita Veri*, 8, 1 f.; Lucian, *Alex.*, 36; *et al.* See J. F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *A. J. P.*, LXXXII (1961), pp. 225-51.

[4] *H. E.*, IV, 14, 10-16, 9.

broke out in widely separated parts of the Empire, from Lugdunum to the East, about the year 177 A. D.[5] For the period of about 177 A. D., too, was particularly tragic for the Emperor and his Empire. The plague had probably still not abated; a revolt in the East added to the menace of foreign invasion—never absent during Marcus Aurelius' rule; and new dangers were again threatening in the North. The *senatus consultum de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis,*[6] sponsored by the Emperor, was devised to allow the purchase of condemned criminals at low prices for use as *trinci* in gradiatorial shows. This *senatus consultum* of about 177 A. D. was probably a desperate resort to religion, similar to the general edict of about 167 A. D. Spectacles had a very deep religious significance, especially for the Greeks. The miseries of these times may have convinced many pagans, perhaps even the Emperor, that the old gods had been alienated by neglect and had to be won back. To appease the people, he agreed, against his own inclinations, to the distasteful measures outlined in the *senatus consultum*. The persecutions both in the East and the West, very probably sparked by this decree, were of course never intended by Marcus Aurelius. The long period of peace and growing security for the Christians that followed was not seriously interrupted until about 197 A. D., as reported in Tertullian's three works of about this year: the *Ad Martyras*, the *Ad Nationes*, and the *Apologeticus*. Although we have no significant details about this persecution, we are confident that it was local, limited to Africa. We are not sure whether the period of the persecutions was extended, but it is reasonable to assume that it was violent enough to move Tertullian to write three or even more works about it. It cannot be supposed that Severus had any hand in causing it. It is more likely that a number of factors, commonly found at the root of local persecutions, combined to bring it about: mob hatred of Christians, personal denunciations, official zeal on the part of the provincial governments, and the activities of Christians themselves, especially of extremist elements like the Montanists. The monumental development in Christian affairs

[5] *H. E.*, V, introd.-2, 1.

[6] J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate," *Hesperia*, XXIV (1955), pp. 320-49.

during Septimius Severus' reign [7] was his general decree of 202-203 A. D. prohibiting conversions to Christianity.[8] This Imperial measure, although leaving the basic legal status of the Christians unchanged (in contrast to Trajan's *conquirendi non sunt*), prescribed the official hunting down of new converts to Christianity. This is clear from the context of our sources, and authentic reports of martyrdoms clearly show that Severus' decree was aimed at the catechumens and neophytes. How long the persecution triggered by Severus' decree lasted is not known, because other authentic reports are lacking and because uncertainty attaches to those authentic reports which we have, with the exception of Eusebius' *H. E.* and the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis.*

If we rightly interpret Tertullian's scanty remarks in his *Ad Scapulam,* it seems that at least Africa enjoyed relatively peaceful conditions in the years prior to Caracalla's accession and Scapula's term as governor. Tertullian's pamphlet addressed to Scapula—probably in August 212 A. D., but perhaps somewhat later [9]—encourages this persecutor to be more merciful in his treatment of the Christians. Tertullian refers him to the examples of some of his predecessors in the African proconsulate.[10] These references could hardly be more obscure, and there is no other information that would shed enough light on them to make them more useful. Of these rhetorical examples offered to Scapula, two governors, Cincius Severus [11] and L. Vespronius Candidus,[12] very probably served in Africa under Commodus. Of the other two mentioned in the pamphlet, Asper's term in the proconsulate was probably either between 200-202 or 204-205 A. D.[13] and that of Pudens most likely between 209

[7] For bibliography, see K. H. Schwarte, "Das angebliche Christengesetz des Septimius Severus," *Historia,* XII (1963), pp. 185-208.

[8] *H. E.*, VI, 1-5, 6; *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*; "Spartianus," *Severus,* 17, 1.

[9] E. Noeldechen, *Die Abfassungszeit der Schriften Tertullians* (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 43-45.

[10] *Ad Scap.*, 4, 1-5.

[11] C. A. Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes des provinces africaines* (Paris, 1901), pp. 223-4.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 230-3.

[13] *P. I. R.*, ed. Groag-Stein *et al.* (1952-66), *s. v.* "C. Iulius Asper"; Cf. Pallu, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.

and 211.[14] In trying to evaluate the significance of these passages, one must bear in mind the obscurities contained in what Tertullian has to say about these governors and the strongly rhetorical context. And then one must have some doubts about the apologist's own information. What really is clear and important is that the years preceding Caracalla's accession and Scapula's term appear to have been relatively quiet for the Christians, since the case mentioned by Tertullian in reference to Pudens,[15] the likely immediate predecessor of Scapula, suggests that under this governor there were no anti-Christian trials and martyrdoms. The Christian who was brought before his tribunal was denounced privately and, whether accused of Christianity or some common law offence, was discharged, since his accuser remained anonymous. This case shows the governor Pudens applying the law strictly and fairly, as prescribed for example by Hadrian's rescript to Minucius Fundanus insisting on personal denunciations of Christians should anyone wish to accuse them of any offense.

Caracalla's recall of the exiles,[16] soon after he had had his brother Geta murdered, may have been beneficial to those Christians banished to the islands during his father's regime. We do not, however, hear of any Christians benefiting from Caracalla's clemency. Another of Caracalla's decrees was of more lasting and greater significance and may have had a more tangible impact on Christian life in the Empire. This decree was the so-called *Constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 A. D. giving nearly all the free inhabitants of the Empire Roman citizenship.[17] Dio Cassius (LXXVII, 9, 4-5), inappreciative

[14] Pallu, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-52; *P. I. R.*, ed. Groag-Stein (1897), *s. v.* "C. Valerius Pudens."

[15] *Ad Scap.*, 4, 3.

[16] Dio Cassius, LXXVII, 3, 3; "Spartianus" *Antoninus Caracalla*, 3, 1.

[17] This document has given rise to a great deal of secondary literature. For a good summary and interpretations of its meaning, see A. H. M. Jones, "Another Interpretation of the Constitutio Antoniniana," *J. R. S.*, XXVI (1936), pp. 223-35; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford U. P., 1939), pp. 218-27; *re* date of the document see F. Millar, "The Date of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*," *J. E. A.*, XLVIII (1962), pp. 124-31.

of the *Constitutio* and thoroughly hostile to Caracalla's acts, could see only selfish financial motives behind its publication. According to Dio, the fiscal purpose of the *Constitutio* was to enforce comprehensive inheritance taxes. In addition, the *P. Giessen,* 40 suggests that the *Constitutio* was a form of thanksgiving to the immortal gods for saving the Emperor from Geta's (alleged) plot, and that the Emperor, to make this thanksgiving worthy of the occasion, wanted to bring together at the altars of the gods all the free inhabitants of the Empire as Roman citizens. So far as its effects on the Christians are concerned, it has been held[18] that the *Constitutio* opened the road for persecutions, since prior to it "only citizens could be prosecuted for Christianity." From the history of the persecutions, however, it is clear that non-citizens as well as the citizens were equally punishable for being Christians. As for the right of appeal to Caesar, now abolished, it was not anyway important for certain Christians. In matters of appeal to the Emperor, the legal distinction between Roman citizens and non-citizens had long been "overshadowed by the social distinction between *honestiores* and *humiliores.*"[19] This right of appeal had long lost all practical meaning for plebeian Roman citizens. The *Constitutio* made this loss of right formal. At any rate, it seems that the Christians had neither made use of their right for a long time or often when they did had not had their right respected when tried and sentenced by provincial magistrates.

It is then reasonable to assume that the *Constitutio* was not in any way, overtly or implicitly, directed against Christians. And this assumption hardly needs to be supported by evidence

[18] E. Perrot, "L'édit de Caracalla de 212 et les persécutions contre les chrétiens," *Rev. Hist. de Droit* (1924), pp. 367-9. On the other hand, one can only agree with W. H. C. Frend, *op. cit.*, p. 312, that the *Constitutio* made general persecution a possibility. Marcus Aurelius' decree of 167 A. D. serves as a good historical parallel. Prescribing universal *supplicatio*, it resulted in fairly serious but scattered persecutions across the Empire. The *Constitutio* probably resulted in the persecutions described in the *Ad Scapulam*. These tragic results for the Christians depended, in both cases, strictly on local circumstances. But then Marcus Aurelius' decree had, for its background, an atmosphere of general gloom, while the *Constitutio* that of a general joyousness.

[19] Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

such as the traditionally accepted signs of friendship displayed by Caracalla towards the Christians. For the Emperor may have had a Christian nurse when a baby;[20] a Jewish or, as some prefer it, a Christian playmate when a boy;[21] and a Christian, M. Aurelius Prosenes, as his chamberlain when an Emperor.[22] The important point is that Eusebius' report on Caracalla[23] contains no references at all to persecutions during his rule.[24] Eusebius, it must be remembered, is painfully correct about persecutions under Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus and, happily, right about the peace under Commodus.

Yet persecutions under Caracalla's rule are reported elsewhere, although, as with the persecutions of about 197 A. D., all these reports come from Tertullian's pen. Our main source is his *Ad Scapulam,* and there are hints in some of his other works, e.g., the *De Corona,* the *De Fuga,* and the *Scorpiace.* And yet other works of his may refer to this same persecution. Reports of martyrdoms in sources such as some of the Fathers of the Church and various martyrologies are problematic, especially with regard to the dates of the martyrdoms concerned.

Tertullian has proved correct as to the fact of persecutions prior to Scapula, and there is no reason to disbelieve his reports of persecutions under Scapula. He writes[25] that the first persecution in Africa had taken place under the proconsul Vigellius Saturninus. Although this late dating of the first martyrdoms in Africa by Tertullian might have sounded rather startling, it has, oddly enough, been substantiated by the trustworthy "Acts" of the Scillitan martyrs. These "Acts" show without doubt that the martyrdoms took place in July 180 A. D., under the governor Vigellius Saturninus. There are no documents

[20] *Ad Scap.*, 4, 5.

[21] "Spartianus," *Ant. Car.*, 1, 6.

[22] K. Bihlmeyer, "Die syrischen Kaiser: Karakalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander und das Christentum," *Theol. Quartalschr.*, XCVII (1915), pp. 71-5.

[23] *H. E.*, VI, 8, 7; 21, 1.

[24] The "great warfare against the city of Alexandria" (*H. E.*, VI, 19, 16) must mean the massacre of the people of this city in 215 A. D. (Dio Cassius, LXXVII, 22, 1-23, 2). Origen probably left the city for the understandable reason that he did not wish to end his life in the general butchery.

[25] *Ad Scap.*, 3, 4.

pointing to earlier persecutions in Africa. Despite their intensely rhetorical context, the *Ad Martyras,* the *Ad Nationes,* and the *Apologeticus* were certainly not literary exercises. They discuss many general aspects of the persecutions in the Empire, but they also report some concrete facts relating to the persecution of about 197 A. D. in Africa, and these simple facts cannot be doubted. As far as statements of facts and the violence of Scapula's persecution are concerned, once stripped of Tertullian's rhetorical expressions, they are not to be doubted and must be taken as true. Strangely, Tertullian never wrote about the most significant persecution in Africa during his lifetime: the persecution that was started in 202-203 A. D. by Severus' anti-conversion decree. It would be difficult to relate, with any degree of certainty, any of Tertullian's works to this, the most serious persecution under Severus, since the works of Tertullian that speak of persecutions certainly belong either to another persecution or, at any rate, say nothing that could, with the slightest probability, be applied to the 202-203 A. D. violence. But this curious silence of Tertullian is more than made up for by the basically authentic document, the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis.*

The period between the *Passio* and the *Ad Scapulam* is very difficult to fill. Indications of some sporadic "persecutions" can be found in the *Ad Scapulam.* The obscurities of the relevant remarks in Tertullian for the pre-Scapula period (4, 3) have been noted. Of these, the case of Asper may be placed between 203 A. D. and Scapula. Pudens was certainly Scapula's immediate predecessor. Despite the obscurities, neither case suggests that there were any serious disturbances connected with it. And both cases also suggest that the governors dealt sympathetically, or at least correctly, with cases involving Christians, whether accused of being Christians or of common law offences. It is, of course, possible that the treatment of Christians by other governors not mentioned by Tertullian might not have suited Tertullian's rhetorical argument. Nevertheless, we have no evidence to suggest that Scapula's proconsulate was preceded by a period of any considerable anti-Christian violence.

The nature of Scapula's persecution, described in some detail in the *Ad Scapulam,* is fairly discernible, although Tertullian

leaves several questions of historical interest unanswered. Compared to the *Apologeticus,* the *Ad Scapulam* is very short. The brief introduction recalls his grand defence of Christianity.[26] In it he tells Scapula that the savage persecution of the Christians has forced him to write the pamphlet in order to inform the governor of what cannot be said publicly in defence of the Christians at their trials.[27] He argues that the Christians do, indeed, worship and offer sacrifices to the one true God, and it is not reasonable to try to force anyone to offer sacrifices to the gods; they do not worship and sacrifice to the Emperor either, but they respect him and offer sacrifices on his behalf to the true God.[28] More specifically, Tertullian cites, with special reference to Africa, instances of divine retribution for the persecution of the Christians and warns the governor not to continue the persecutions.[29] He goes on to admit, strangely, that even the governor is under the law, that he has to carry out his duty as governor by condemning those confessing themselves at his tribunal to be Christians. Tertullian makes his next point by warning against the unnecessary use of torture and cites examples of some African governors of the near past in the treatment of Christians, the alleged friendships of the Emperors Severus and Marcus Aurelius to the Christians and, finally, the alleged practice of the chief officials of what was probably Numidia and neighbouring Mauretania, who according to him, only used the sword in executing Christians.[30] The governor, Tertullian ends his rapidly developed argument, must spare the Christians for his own and Carthage's sake, even if not for the Christians'. For, he warns, there is a danger that the governor's brutal behaviour might cause the Christians of the city to present themselves at his tribunal for martyrdom and, then, thousands might have to be put to death, among them many high-ranking officials, friends and relatives of the governor.

Tertullian composed this pamphlet only after Scapula had had one 'Mavilius' of Hadrumetum fed to the wild beasts,

[26] *Apolog.*, 1, 1.
[27] *Ad Scap.*, 1, 1-4.
[28] *Ibid.*, 2, 1-10.
[29] *Ibid.*, 3, 1-5.
[30] *Ibid.*, 4, 1-8.

and this beginning was followed by further persecution.[31] Tertullian flatly states that Scapula's persecution was cruel,[32] and this can also be implied from the simple argument of the pamphlet. As to the cause of this sudden eruption of severe anti-Christian violence in Carthage after a fairly long period of relative peace, nothing is stated in plain terms. It has often been suggested by modern scholars that an incident, reported very briefly by Tertullian,[33] in which a Christian soldier refused to be garlanded on the occasion of an Imperial *donativum*, somehow started the persecution under Scapula.[34] Whether or not this unique incident of the Christian soldier was true[35]—and there is no serious reason to doubt it—it was not likely to have taken place in either 197 or 202-203 A. D. or to have sparked the anti-Christian violences in Africa in these years,[36] for the simple reason that the *De Corona* is clearly a strongly Montanistic work of the otherwise normally extremist Tertullian. The violent anti-militaristic propaganda of this work, nevertheless, does not fit into the literature of Tertullian's early period or the circumstances of the 197 and 202-203 A. D. persecutions.

The *liberalitas praestantissimorum imperatorum* of the *De Corona* (1) may, on the other hand, have been part of an Imperial *liberalitas* granted by Caracalla and Geta on the occasion of their accession to Severus' vacant throne early in

[31] *Ibid.*, 3, 5.

[32] *Ibid.*, 1, 2; 5, 1.

[33] *De Corona*, 1.

[34] K. J. Neumann, *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche bis auf Diocletian* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 182-7; A. Linsenmayer, *Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat bis zum Tode des Kaisers Julian* (München, 1905), pp. 115-16; K. Bihlmayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-6; L. De Regibus, "Milizia e cristanesimo nell' impero romano," *Didask.*, N. S. II (1924), pp. 50-2; J. Moreau, *La persécution du christianisme dans l'empire romain* (Paris, 1956), p. 84; H. Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'empire romain* (Bruxelles, 1964), pp. 33-4; *et al.*

[35] Seriously doubted by A. von Domaszewski, *Religion des römischen Heeres* (Trier, 1895), p. 95 and, following him, by J. Köchling, *De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu* (Giessen, 1914), p. 94; *et al.*

[36] Cf. Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 95; P. Allard, *Histoire des persécutions pendant la première moitié du troisième siècle* (Paris, 1905), pp. 31 ff.; *et al.*

211 A. D. But it still remains very doubtful whether the *liberalitas* of the *De Corona* took place either in Carthage or in Numidia. The question is whether the case of the single Christian soldier—and regretfully for Tertullian there was only one—refusing the garland and declaring himself a Christian was enough to trigger the violent persecution implied in the *Ad Scapulam*. Concerning this Christian soldier's fate, Tertullian only says that he, at the time of the composition of his rapidly produced report, was expecting to receive the donativum of Christ. He may very likely have been put to death for his action. On the other hand, such an incident would probably remain limited to its proper significance and not develop into the kind of persecution described in the *Ad Scapulam*. Besides, the time element involved argues against it. It is very difficult to connect an incident which took place in early 211 A. D. with a persecution which was likely to have started shortly before the *Ad Scapulam* was composed, namely in, or soon after, August of 212 A. D.[37] Furthermore, Tertullian was not the kind of person, especially at this Montanistic stage of his career, to be slow to react to the violence described by him in the *Ad Scapulam*. His reaction to the eruption of the persecutions in 197 A. D. was speedy. For it appears that he wrote his *Ad Martyras* on hearing of the arrest of the first batch of "prospective martyrs" before they were even tried.[38] And the impression given by the *De Corona* (1) is that this pamphlet, too, was written as soon as Tertullian had heard of the incident of the Christian soldier and before his trial.

The persecution under Scapula can, however, be attributed to more likely candidates. The activities of Christian extremists like the Montanists were probably a major factor in this persecution. The strength and provocative attitude of the Montanists is well reflected in Tertullian's works of the same period, such as the *De Corona,* the *De Fuga,* the *Scorpiace,* the *Ad Scapulam,* and others. The provocative ideas of the Montanists about martyrdom had become more rather than less exalted since the

[37] For the date of composition, see J. Schmidt, "Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der Schriften Tertullians und der Proconsuln von Afrika," *Rhein. Mus.*, N. S. XLVI (1891), pp. 77-98.

[38] *Ad Mart.*, 1.

time when they had first started their destructive activities in the previous century. In fact, one can hardly avoid the impression in reading the *Ad Scapulam* that Tertullian is really asking Scapula not to discontinue killing Christians but to go on executing them, provided that the executions take the form of simple decapitation, since the prospective martyrs might understandably fail to achieve martyrdom if tortured.

It was the Montanists who may well have found the proclamation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* a real challenge. As already noted, the *Constitutio* of 212 A. D. had, at least on the surface, the religious purpose of a thanksgiving for Caracalla's escape from Geta's alleged plot and, in fact, prescribed an empire-wide *supplicatio* to the gods. What had happened as an indirect result of Marcus Aurelius' general edict calling for sacrifices to the gods in about 167 A. D. during the period of the great plague could very well also have happened in 212 A. D. In 167 A. D., the serious trouble in Asia was greatly aggravated for the Christians by provocative elements among them and, of course, by the pagan mobs. Now, if we join the extremist Christians of Africa of 212 A. D. with the narrow-minded mobs of the pagans, then the eruption of violent troubles in connection with the *supplicatio* becomes unavoidable, and the subsequent persecution of the *Ad Scapulam* understandable. The publication of the *Constitutio* would no doubt be a joyous occasion for many pagans and Christians; the *supplicatio* would be celebrated by the population everywhere, including Carthage. The Christians, generally, would not participate in the sacrifices being offered to the gods, but the moderate elements at least would offer their prayers and sacrifices to their own God. The absence of many Christians from the special festivities of the pagan community would be obvious. Pagans would insult the Christians and, perhaps, clamour for their blood. Montanists and those who were looking for heroic sacrifice would return the insults and tell them of their own prayers for the Emperor. Scapula's intervention and the developments described in the *Ad Scapulam* would then naturally follow.

This argument may be further strengthened by the striking fact that Tertullian in his argument against Scapula [39] speaks

[39] *Ad Scap.*, 2, 1-10.

only of why Christians do not sacrifice to the gods and the Emperor, and why they sacrifice instead to their own God, on the Emperor's behalf. The apologist does not argue in the *Ad Scapulam,* as he does in the *Ad Nationes* and the *Apologeticus,* against the injustice of the persecution of the Christian *name.* This suggests that the persecution was wholly concerned with Christian non-participation in the sacrifices of the *supplicatio* ordered by the *Constitutio.* Further, the persecutions of the same period in Numidia and Mauretania [40] can be conveniently explained as the consequence of the same *supplicatio.* This explanation is certainly a very much more likely one than the suggestion that the persecution was set off by the insignificant incident of the Christian soldier of the *De Corona* in early 211 A. D.

Considering the intemperate tone of the *Ad Scapulam* and that the persecution was to a large degree provoked by people like Tertullian, the correct question to ask is not to what extent the *Ad Scapulam,* thrown almost as an insult at the governor, helped to diminish the persecution, but rather, how much it intensified pagan reaction. If some of Tertullian's other works, such as the *De Fuga* and the *Scorpiace,* were written after the *Ad Scapulam* [41]—as indeed they appear to have been—then one can be certain that the persecution worsened and continued into 213 A. D. at least. Tertullian's rage against both those who tried by all means short of apostasy to avoid torture and death and against the group of heretics who believed that martyrdom was senseless, thus becomes entirely understandable.

One would like to attempt to add further names to that of 'Mavilius' [42] of the *Ad Scapulam* (3, 5). However, we are in no position to do this with any degree of confidence. For the many cases suggested by various martyrologies are of doubtful character, and the names involved are of uncertain date, although they may admittedly have been the victims of historical martyrdoms.[43] Cases like those of Celerina, Laurentius, and

[40] *Ad Scap.,* 4, 8.

[41] Noeldechen, *op. cit.,* pp. 109-14.

[42] Probably identical with the old Carthaginian Calendar's "Majulus."

[43] See Bihlmeyer, *op. cit.,* pp. 89-90; Linsenmayer, *op. cit.,* p. 116; *et al.*

Ignatius,[44] and Castus and Aemilius[45] are certainly historical, but they may, as far as can be determined, equally well date from the time of Septimius Severus or Caracalla, or even perhaps one of the later emperors. The only name that may with much confidence be added to the lonely 'Mavilius' is that of Rutilius, mentioned in the *De Fuga* (5).

If it was the *Constitutio Antoniniana* that occasioned the persecutions in Africa under the proconsulate of Scapula, and also those in Mauretania and Numidia—apparently unintended by Caracalla—then this Imperial measure joins the general edict of Marcus Aurelius of about 167 A. D., which triggered widespread anti-Christian violence in several parts of the Empire, similarly apparently unintended by the Emperor. If to these Imperial measures we add Severus' anti-conversion decree of 202-203 A. D. and Maximin's decree of 235 A. D. for the persecution of "the leaders of the Church," then the Emperor Decius had his precedents for his edict of persecution. These precedents offered him a pattern of procedure that, while avoiding indiscriminate persecution of all Christians, wittingly or unwittingly classified its potential victims. The novelty of all these precedents, especially in the case of Severus' and Maximin's decrees, was strictly procedural, with the basic legal status of the Christians remaining unchanged. They implied an authorization to search out officially the Christians, explicitly or implicitly, classified by them. At the same time, of course, there remained the causes that in the second and third centuries commonly occasioned persecutions. For the hostility of anti-Christian mobs was to remain a feature of life in the Roman Empire for a long time to come. The increasing number of Christians and, in particular, the growing confidence of extremist elements among them naturally made matters worse. Also, much depended on the attitude of the provincial magistrates, whose zeal or moderation could mean the difference between persecution, however local, and toleration.

Caracalla's rule probably contained all these features in the relationship between the government and the people on one

[44] Cyprian, *Epist.*, 39.
[45] Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 13.

hand, and the government and the Christians on the other. Nevertheless, his rule must be regarded as a generally peaceful one for the Christians, and the persecutions of 212 A. D. cannot be attributed to him. This aspect of his rule provides a striking similarity to conditions under another emperor of very much the same character. It is the fairly general peace enjoyed by the Christians under the rules of Commodus and Caracalla that makes these emperors even more unlike their fathers.

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HORACE ON SEX.

The relatively few critics who have discussed *Sermones*, I, 2 have usually missed the point.[1] Horace is not preaching on the dangers of adultery,[2] nor disapproving of visits to brothels,[3] nor holding up liaisons with *libertinae* as an Aristotelian golden mean.[4] His prime concern is rather to make fun of the grand passions of the Love Poets by reducing sex to a comic physical exercise. The didactic tone of the poem is largely parody and has no serious intent. If any affinities are sought, Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is a better place to look than philosophical diatribes against physical passion.

This mock didactic tone is partly designed to recall Lucretius; it comes well from one who later described himself as *Epicuri de grege porcum* for the benefit of the solemn Tibullus.[5] The first line of the poem with its pentasyllabic ending, *pharmacopolae*, is reminiscent of the Lucretian invocation to Venus:

> Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas,
> alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
> quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
> concelebras, per te quoniam genus omne animantum
> concipitur visitque exortum lumina solis. . . .[6]

Further extension of this comparison shows the effectiveness of Horace's opening four lines, which are often criticised as being

[1] The major discussions are those of E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 76-86; G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace* (Wisconsin, 1920), pp. 248-74; P. Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace: Satires* (Paris, 1911), pp. 29-37; N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 9-12; D. Armstrong, "Horace, *Satires* I, 1-3: A Structural Study," *Arion*, III (1964), pp. 86-96; C. Dessen, "The Sexual and Financial Mean in Horace's *Serm.*, I, 2," *A. J. P.*, LXXXIX (1968), pp. 200-8. These will hereinafter be referred to by author only. I regard Dessen as being nearest to the true interpretation of this poem.

[2] Fraenkel, pp. 78-9.

[3] Rudd, p. 11 (with some qualification).

[4] Fiske, p. 248.

[5] *Epistles*, I, 4, 16.

[6] *De Rerum Natura*, I, 1-5.

irrelevant to the rest of the poem.[7] The open-handed Tigellius was the source of *voluptas* for his socially unacceptable followers. The dancers, pantomimes, and other raffish hangers-on fulfil the role *hominum divumque*; Tigellius is the source of their well-being just as Venus is the *genetrix* of Aeneas' descendants. Nor is the Venereal connection inapposite. It is unlikely that the mutual attraction between Tigellius and the *ambubaiarum collegia* rested solely on music. A man who was intimate with Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, and Octavian seems eminently capable of a bed and bard relationship with dancing-girls and actresses.[8] The lampoon on him by Calvus also suggests that Tigellius' sex life was notoriously colourful.[9]

Other Lucretian echoes seem more than coincidental. For example, Horace's use of the archaic *-ier* form of the present infinitive passive.[10] And the lines (90-5):

> Hoc illi recte: ne corporis optima Lyncei
> contemplere oculis, Hypsaea caecior illa
> quae mala sunt spectes. 'o crus! o bracchia!' verum
> depugis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
> matronae praeter faciem nil cernere possis,
> cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.

recall Lucretius' ridicule of the lovesick men who blind themselves to the physical defects of their women.[11] There is perhaps more than parody here. Horace implies throughout his poem that *matronae* are just as good in bed as strumpets and freedwomen. Not so Lucretius who, after cataloguing the postures adopted by harlots to avoid pregnancy and give maximum pleasure to their clients, adds the stuffy note that such expertise is unbecoming to a wife.[12]

The didactic method is nicely taken off in other ways. A

[7] E. g., by Fraenkel, p. 77.

[8] On Tigellius, see Rudd, p. 139.

[9] Calvus called him *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput*. Readers of Martial will be familiar with this type of sexual imputation. The hapless female victim of Horace, *Epode*, 8, is introduced thus: *rogare longo putidam te saeculo*.

[10] Three examples in this poem: *laudarier* (35), *sectarier* (78), *avellier* (104).

[11] *De Rerum Natura*, IV, 1157-70.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1277: *coniugibus quod nil nostris opus esse videtur*.

notable example is the parody of Ennius'

> Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
> qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis.

by lines 37-38:

> Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte
> qui moechis non vultis. . . .[13]

Equally to the point is the adducing of Cato's *dia sententia* to condone at least the occasional visit to a 'stinking' brothel. In view of Cato's sexual arrangements for his own slaves, it is not totally inappropriate to introduce him here as advocate. But there is still humour in citing Cato for a defence of whoremongering, and Horace is careful to underline the point by both language and subtle omission. The brothel is described as *olenti*, a smell that follows closely on the odours of Rufillus' breath and Gargonius' armpits (*pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum*). Cato rounds off his dictum with the blunt verb *permolere*.[14] However, Horace omits the rest of the traditional Catonian advice in which the Censor rebuked the same young man for obeying his recommendation too enthusiastically. The concluding episode in the poem is almost a self-parody. The uproar and panic caused by the husband returning home to find his wife entertaining a lover is almost identical to the disturbing of the mice at their stolen dinner in *Sermones*, II, 6.[15]

[13] Porphyrion approved this little parody as *urbane*.

[14] This verb occurs only here in Horace. Lucilius has the simple verb *molere* in a sexual sense (fr. 278), as does Ausonius (*Epigr.*, 71, 7). For Lucilian elements in this Horatian poem, see Fiske, p. 271.

[15] Compare the passages:

> ianua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
> pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vae pallida lecto
> desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet,
> cruribus haec metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mi.
> discincta tunica fugiendum est ac pede nudo,
> ne nummi pereant aut puga aut denique fama.
> (*Serm.*, I, 2, 128-33)

And:

> ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
> rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
> valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
> currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
> exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
> personuit canibus. (*Serm.*, II, 6, 110-15)

Similarities of language and imagery are striking. The adulterers at their stolen sexual feast are comparable to the mice at their surrepti-

Horace's ridicule of the conventions of Roman Love Poetry is palpable. His inversion of the *paraclausithyron* situation is a striking example. Horace's gallants are forever in trouble by being caught *inside* the wrong bedroom. Adulterers have to leap from rooftops to escape; if caught, they are beaten up, urinated on by lackeys, or even castrated.[16] Villius is later given as an example of the Romeo who is roughly handled.[17] The poem ends with the repeated warning of what may befall the adulterer detected in the act. Another way in which Horace suggests that the game is not worth it is by advising that, if there is no safely accessible woman to hand, a boy will do just as well. Cerinthus may have legs equal to those of many women,[18] and a boy is as suitable as a girl when lust becomes intolerable.[19] This advice is particularly relevant to Tibullus who switched from Delia and Glycera [20] to a brief passion for the boy Marathus who is soon displaced in favour of the appropriately named Nemesis. It is surely relevant to find Horace later writing his Odes to lovelorn Tibullus and the forlorn Valgius, urging them to stop grieving after girls or boys.[21] Horace's friend, Virgil, though of different temperament, has the same attitude in his second *Eclogue*. Corydon, after wailing for over sixty lines about his unrequited love for Alexis (he reveals, *en passant*, that he has been equally unlucky with the moody Amaryllis), abruptly concludes his threnody by observing that another boy will serve his purpose adequately enough.[22]

The point is again shown up by language. The niceties of erotic compliment do not occur. Instead, the concentration is entirely on bluntly physical terms. The talk is all of *cunni albi*, of *futuo* and *permolere*, of *tument inguina* and *tentigine rumpi*. One does not woo a slave girl or boy, one makes an *impetus*

tious banquet. The crashing of doors and barking dogs bring terror and flight in both cases.

[16] *Serm.*, I, 2, 41 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, 64 ff. There is an obvious play on the names *Fausta* and *Sullae gener* in this unlucky context.

[18] *Ibid.*, 81-2: *sit licet hoc, Cerinthe, tuum—tenerum est femur aut crus/ rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.*

[19] *Ibid.*, 117-18. I cite these lines later on.

[20] See G. Luck, *The Latin Love Elegy* (London, 1959), pp. 62 ff.

[21] *Odes*, I, 33 consoles Tibullus on his grief for *immitis Glycerae*. *Odes*, II, 9 is addressed to Valgius, who laments a deceased boy friend.

[22] *Ecl.*, 2, 73: *invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim.*

upon them. Women are evaluated like quality horses, the hunting image is dominant, and the cost of an affaire is paramount.[23] Nor does the culprit Villius invoke any god, after his escapade; rather is his conscience located in his penis.[24]

Traditional doctrines concerning this poem are easy to demolish. Adultery is ridiculed, but not censured. A sharp and meaningful distinction. The only objection to adultery is the physical danger involved, if caught. The sin is not the act itself, but getting caught. Horace says explicitly that there is no distinction, on this level, between matron and prostitute (62-3):

> quid inter-
> est in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?

The idea that Horace is recommending *libertinae* as the happy medium is not supported by his language. This class is introduced by the punning description *classe secunda*,[25] and Sallustius is at once cited as an example of how easy it is to get into trouble with freedwomen. This *caveat* is odd, if we are to assume that such liaisons are put forward as an alternative to the physical dangers of adultery and the socially unacceptable *meretrix*. And since many *meretrices* were also *libertinae*, the distinction is unreal.

One piece of advice only is put forward unambiguously by Horace: take sex as the opportunity arises, without emotional involvement and with a partner who can neither argue with you nor cause trouble for you (116-19):

> . . . tument tibi cum inguina, num si
> ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
> continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
> non ego: namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque.

Social status and even the sex of the partner are not important, and the pleasure of the quick tumble is set above any preaching about moderation. A final tilt at grand passion can be seen in the lines (125-6):

[23] This aspect is well discussed by Dessen, pp. 204 ff.

[24] Another Lucilian reminiscence (see Fiske, *loc. cit.*), but there is a touch of parody of the usual Horatian inclusion of dialogue within the *Sermones*.

[25] The pun is noticed by Armstrong, p. 89. The pun is quite a notable feature of this poem.

haec ubi supposuit dextro corpus mihi laevum
Ilia et Egeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi. . . .

There is surely an appropriate pun on the name *Ilia* here and the message is clear: all cats are gray in the dark.

The poem, then, is to be taken as entirely satirical. It is innocent of any moral message. This does not mean that it is out of joint with the other *Sermones.* It is usually taken to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the collection.[26] The term *Sermo* is suitably flexible, and there is no reason to suppose that Horace always felt obliged to make a serious point. The language and style of this poem are more in tune with the *Epodes,* and it is there that analogies should probably be sought. It can, however, be subjoined that our present poem follows *Sermones,* I, 1 rather pleasantly.[27] After expounding the folly of dissatisfaction with one's lot, a totally mocking discussion of the male pursuit of women, where dissatisfactions tend to be prevalent, makes the point perfectly. The opinion that no woman is worth suffering for comes well from the man who later wrote:

nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri.[28]

If we risk the dangerous connection of the poet's art with his personal experiences, we can say that Horace did suffer in pursuit of women and came to the conclusion that sex could be a satisfactory substitute for passion. Ovid reached the same conclusion. The outpourings of Catullus and Propertius and Tibullus (and let us conjecture that Virgil may have made the point to Horace concerning the unfortunate Gallus) must have seemed increasingly absurd to Horace. He would have agreed with Lord Chesterfield's dictum about the transience of the pleasure, the exorbitance of the expense, and the frankly ridiculous nature of the position.

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[26] See Fraenkel, p. 76.

[27] See Armstrong for the structural unity of *Sermones,* I, 1-3.

[28] *Epistles,* I, 1, 14. Horace need not be thought of as a misogynist, but women frequently come off badly in his poetry. Apart from the enigmatic Canidia and her henchwoman Sagana, we may cite Cinara in the *Epistles* (referred to as *protervae* and *rapaci*), Phryne in *Epode* 14 (significantly a *libertina*), the celebrated Pyrrha in *Odes,* I, 5, and the victims of *Epode* 8 and *Epode* 12.

REVIEWS.

DAVID A. CAMPBELL. Greek Lyric Poetry. A Selection of Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1967. Pp. xxxiii + 461. $6.50.

D. L. PAGE. Lyrica Graeca Selecta. New York, Oxford University Press, 1968. Pp. vii + 268. $2.95.

Greek lyric poems, like the Cyclades islands, allure with their light, then exhaust the unwary traveller with diffusion and inaccessibility. Collections of the extant fragments, like navigational charts, are constantly rendered obsolete by new discoveries. Geographical boundaries are variously defined to include or exclude elegiac and iambic verse. The best guide books, Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Page's *Poetae Melici Graeci*, and Lobel and Page's *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, are expensive and assume previous acquaintance with the material they present. Handbooks designed for the less experienced divert (e.g., Bowra's persistent emphasis on historical setting in *Early Greek Elegists* and in *Greek Lyric Poetry*[2]) or misinform (e.g., Ψάπφα is given as the vocative of Sappho in the fourth corrected printing of Moore's *Selections from the Greek Elegiac, Iambic, and Lyric Poets*, p. 85). Access to the elusive, treasured poems themselves accordingly demands long years of wandering and repeated voyages.

Campbell's new textbook provides for English-speaking readers the first opportunity in many years (Smyth's informative *Greek Melic Poets*, orig. publ. 1900, reprinted in 1963, has long been out of date) to study this difficult literature with satisfaction. His book presents in chronological order the most influential work of melic, iambic, and elegiac poets down to the middle of the fifth century. For the student, the chronological arrangement has clear advantages over the traditional metrical categories retained in Diehl, the Loeb, and in Moore, which can make Archilochus seem historically later than Callinus, and seem to shroud Simonides' lyric poems in generations of elegy. Campbell's book is mechanically convenient, employing the reference numbers of the accepted standard editions (*P. M. G.*, *P. L. F.*, and Diehl[3] for elegy and iambus), providing metrical schemes for all lyric and the complex iambic poems, noting in a brief critical apparatus important emendations and variations. The lines beginning δέδυκε μὲν ἀ σελάνα (classified on dialectal grounds as Fr. Adesp., 976 in *P. M. G.*) and the nasty iambic couplet about the best days in a woman's life (Fr. Chol. Adesp., 1) are helpfully placed with Sappho and Hipponax, respectively, under whose names the poems have been remembered and imitated through the centuries. The selection of poems in Campbell's text is unusually representative, including even the maxims of Phocylides and Demodocus, and Corinna's fairy-tale of the daughters of Asopus. The notes provide a general summary of the known facts about each

author's life and works, comments on style and dialect, all with reference bibliography. The notes are characterized by an ability to present complex issues fairly and concisely, e. g., the discussion of the authorship of poems attributed to Theognis, which will prove particularly useful to the many students who will balk at reading Douglas Young's Latin or van Groningen's French commentary, yet who will profit from learning about the uncertainties of biographical criticism (e. g., Moore's unqualified statement "Theognis of Megara was a poor but disdainful aristocrat," p. 68, which is fortified by reordering selected epigrams to create the illusion of a neat Horatian book). In addition to the accurate summary of previous scholarship Campbell provides interesting new information, especially on the meaning of words (with parallels from epic and drama as well as from poets represented in his book), on features of individual style, such as Stesichorus' and Bacchylides' compound adjectives (pp. 254-5, 424) or Sappho's clarity (p. 262). He is aware of the positive function of imitation, e. g., in the case of Alcaeus' adaptation (347) of Hesiod, *Opera*, 582-8, which Page dismisses as a perfunctory metrical experiment, or in the case of Theognis' adaptations of Solon and Mimnermus, where Campbell aptly compares Brahms' awareness of his debt to Beethoven (p. 344).

Only on very infrequent occasions does Campbell seem to display the factual reserve or condescension characteristic of most school texts. His treatment of Bacchylides seems unnecessarily harsh, in view of his appreciation of imitation in Mimnermus, Alcaeus, and Theognis; a more balanced view has since been expressed by H. Maehler, *Bakchylides* (Berlin, 1968), p. 13; and see also *H. S. C. P.*, LXXIII (1969), pp. 45-96. His literal interpretation of Bacchylides, 3, 49 *ξύλινον δόμον* as "wooden structure" (following Jebb) obscures an image that is both poignant (the pyre is home) and central to the poem (death leads to new life; see J. DuMortier, "Associations d'images chez Bacchylide," *Mélanges Desrousseaux* [Paris, 1936], pp. 151-8). J. Stern, *G. R. B. S.*, VI (1965), pp. 275-82, would have illustrated how Bacchylides derives major themes from specific images (see now also *G. R. B. S.*, VIII [1967], pp. 35-43); Parry's notes in Fagles' translation of Bacchylides (New Haven, 1961) would have provided insight into Bacchylides' use of color and light. In a number of instances Campbell seems reluctant to deal with facts publicly considered unpleasant by the Victorians. An example is his decision not to accept the papyrus reading *τείρει* "Hagesichora wears me away" in Alcman, 1, 77 (see H. Lloyd-Jones, *C. R.*, XIX [1969], p. 23), which does not give due consideration to the physical nature of the affection young adolescent girls often feel for one another or for their female mentors, particularly in sexually segregated societies (see S. deBeauvoir, *The Second Sex* [New York, 1961], pp. 320-5). The war imagery in this poem (e. g., *μάχονται* 63, *ἰρ]ήνας* 91) may also have erotic overtones (as in Soph., *Ant.*, 781; Theoc., 1, 97, 113). Similarly the statement "She [Sappho] seems to have presided over a literary coterie of women bound together by the strongest ties of affection" (p. 261) seems somewhat overintellectualized: the violent passion Campbell observes in Sappho, 31 is particularized in 94, 21 ff. *στρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν . . . ἐξίης πόθο[ν* (cautiously translated in

the notes as "you would satisfy your longing"; see Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* [Oxford, 1955], pp. 140-6; de Beauvoir, p. 349; and J. A. Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar* [London, 1968], pp. 227-31). It should be noted also that the allegory of Alcaeus, 326 may be sexual as well as (or instead of) political. In 73 and 306 (14) (fragments not included in Campbell's selection) the ship represents a woman (see Page, *S. and A.* pp. 195-6). Alcaeus thus may provide us with the first instance of what later becomes a standard metaphor for love; see W. S. Anderson, *C.P.*, LXI (1966), pp. 84-98. Campbell's definition of Alcaeus, 347, 7 μιαρώτατα as "perhaps a term of abuse, 'most pestilential, at their worst'" seems hesitant in view of lines like Aristophanes, *Ran.*, 499 ("filthy" is a reasonable vernacular equivalent). The note on Anacreon, 417, 6 refers to soldiers mounting chariots and horses; βατέω in Theocritus, 1, 87 provides a closer parallel. In the introduction and in the notes on Alcman 1 and Carm. Pop., 848 (the Rhodian swallow song) more should be said about the peculiarly dramatic qualities of choral style; see *H.S.C.P.*, LXVII (1963), pp. 185-95 and Rosenmeyer's valuable comments on presentation, popular song, and Hellenistic pastoral in *G.R.B.S.*, VII (1966), pp. 321-59. In addition to the specific suggestions for amplification in Lloyd-Jones' review (pp. 23-4) readers of a second edition would profit from: some justification for the assertion (p. 273, on Sappho, 31, 17) that Catullus, 51, 13-17 is "hardly in place," especially in view of the discussion in G. Wills, *G.R.B.S.*, VIII (1967), pp. 167-97; a brief summary (p. 285) of Gomme's and Page's arguments about the authorship of Fr. Adesp., 976; some bibliography on the philosophical significance of Protagoras' and Socrates' irritating discussion of Simonides' poem on the good man (542: see the references in R. Harriott, *Poetry and Criticism Before Plato* [London, 1969], pp. 144-6); more commentary on the historicity of the events described in the Harmodius and Aristogiton scolia (e. g., on 893-6, p. 451, Campbell refers to Thucydides but gives no description of the historian's celebrated views on the difference between actual reasons for motivation and popular romance). To the list of typographical errors supplied by Lloyd-Jones (p. 24) may be added: p. 19, Alcman, 1, 34 read ἄλαστα δὲ for ἄλαστα ἐ; p. 206, read Trajan for Trojan. American students, who generally have had less time to assimilate Greek than their British contemporaries, may still need to have occasional recourse to a text, like the inadequate Moore, which translates difficult constructions and the more important references in the notes. Possibly a second edition should include, like Smyth, more Bacchylides, and some of the characteristic (although unkind) erotic epigrams of Theognis. But the fact that the only criticisms that can be made of Campbell's book refer to such relative subtleties of interpretation is perhaps the best measure of the book's unusual sophistication and comprehensiveness. Like Dodds' edition of the *Bacchae*, this is a "school text" that can be used with profit by both students and scholars.

Page's *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* contains all the material from *P.M.G.* and *P.L.F.* from which anything consecutive can be construed, including (as Campbell does not) summaries like Stesichorus, 190, 191, and Alcaeus, 307, and papyrus commentaries, like

Alcaeus, 306(14), that refract, however obliquely, some of the contents of the original. The apparatus, though much reduced in scale from the parent volumes, records the problems of reconstituting texts from battered papyri, with suggestions for alternative readings and interpretative notes to help bridge annoying gaps. Conversion tables to and from Diehl's numbering, cruelly omitted in the original *P. M. G.*, have been appended (a Page-Diehl-Bergk table is provided in G. Fatouros, *Index Verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik* [Heidelberg, 1966], which has replaced the index in *P. M. G.*, as the best concordance to archaic poetry). Discoveries since the publication of *P. M. G.* and *P. L. F.* have been incorporated, like Sappho, 31, 16 (also in Campbell) and, in an appendix, the new fragments of Stesichorus' *Geryonis* from *P. Oxy.*, XXXII (1967), 2617 (Fr. 4, 20 ff., with its compound adjectives, provides further illustration of the carefully illustrative narrative style noted by Campbell on pp. 254-5, which may have influenced Ibycus, Simonides, and Bacchylides).

Reasonable price and the convenient OCT format make this text an attractive alternative to the authoritative but expensive *P. M. G.* ($12.00) and *P. L. F.* ($8.80). However, the short version shares the quantitative limitations of the parent volumes. Testimonia are omitted, and still available only in Edmonds' imaginative Loeb. Standards of canonization are stated even more summarily than in the larger texts. Post-fifth-century poems like the familiar Anacreontea, the sad hexameters of Erinna, and the historically significant hymn to Demetrius Poliorcetes are cast by their omission into an uncertain limbo between archaic/classical and Hellenistic poetry (see J. A. Davison, *J. H. S.*, LXXXIV [1964], pp. 160-1). The strictures imposed by genre classification on a text designed for general use seem particularly confining: to read Simonides' epigrams students must turn to the expensive Diehl or to the selections in one of the school texts. The effect of viewing so small a literature as Greek poetry in terms of metrical categories can readily be approximated by analogy. It is eminently reasonable to consider the development of the English sonnet as a separate entity, given the quantity of sonnets extant. But if most of English literature as we know it were suddenly demolished, leaving four (plus some pieces) of Shakespeare's 104 sonnets, two of Milton's (plus the first two lines of "On His Blindness"), two and a left half of Donne's, and one of Wordsworth's, separate consideration of the sonnet form, without constant reference to those authors' other poetry and prose and to the works of their contemporaries, would seem less sensible. Similarly in Greek poetry the microscopic view may provide important insights into the evolution of metra and techniques of versification, but at the same time it may lead us to overlook important interrelationships in content and in style among the genres and among seemingly unrelated authors. For example, Simonides' epigrams epitomize the concern with paradox portrayed in his narrative poems (e. g., 531, 3; 543, 18; 542 entire). Theognis' elegies can serve as a valuable commentary on the ethical attitudes in the lyric poets Bacchylides and Pindar. Only by considering lyric verse together with epic and elegy can we become aware of what makes lyric verse distinctive (e. g., the constant images in

lyric provided by the new compound adjectives that never seem to be employed in elegiac verse, where dactylic form encourages retention of epic epithet and formulaic phrase). Thus to be functional the OCT *Lyrica Graeca* would seem to need companion volumes of elegy, iambus, and Bacchylides, though ultimately an approximate chronological arrangement (like Campbell's) may serve most readers better, since fragmented remains, whether poetic or architectural, are best reconstructed in their environments. Perhaps a commentary like Kirk and Raven's *Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1957), whose translation and detailed discussion of testimonia and fragments have done so much to help explain the importance of the names and random information filed in Diels-Kranz, could best help students first approaching the scattered remnants of Greek lyric poetry. But meanwhile Page's accurate new text and Campbell's thorough commentary have done much to bring within reach of every classicist a literature that scholarship and ignorance have made in recent years increasingly remote.

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RODOLPHE KASSER and COLIN AUSTIN. Papyrus Bodmer XXV, Ménandre: La Samienne. Cologny-Genève, 1969. Pp. 65; 18 pls. Price not stated.

Papyrus Bodmer XXVI, Ménandre: Le Bouclier. En appendice: compléments au Papyrus Bodmer IV, Ménandre: Le Dyscolos. Cologny-Genève, 1969. Pp. 49; 15 pls. Price not stated.

We now know that the Papyrus Bodmer which gave us the *Dyscolus* twelve years ago was a codex containing a total of three plays written on 64 pages. Pages 1-18 contained the *Samia*, 19-39 the *Dyscolus*, and 40-64 the *Aspis*. It is surprising and somewhat disconcerting to learn that most of the material now published in the present two volumes had been in the possession of M. Bodmer all these years. He had held it back in the hope of a more complete publication. But, despite the gaps in this latest addition to our growing store of Menander's plays, it is now possible to form a very good estimate of the *Samia* from beginning to end, and to work out the plot of the *Aspis* with quite a bit of detail for the first three acts. We turn to the *Samia*, its alternate title being Κηδεία or *The Marriage Alliance*, as we now learn for the first time.

The text is presented in the form of a transcription only, with the words divided and the accents given as recorded on the papyrus. Restorations are deliberately kept to a minimum and the identities of the speakers are indicated only where the papyrus has preserved them. Full and excellent photographs, in a jacket at the end, make it all a model of what an *editio princeps* should be. To realize how much new material has been added to that given in the old Cairo codex of the *Samia*, it is only necessary to notice that the lines of

the Papyrus Bodmer XXV are numbered continuously from 1 to 737. Using that enumeration as a basis, the old Cairo material does not begin until line 216 in Act 3 and then stops at 416. It picks up again at line 547 and concludes at 686. There are, of course, still gaps in both copies, but, all in all, we now have 375 lines which are absolutely new. These include, fortunately, both the beginning and the end, exactly those places which have challenged scholars for the last sixty years. Some old theories and restorations have been vindicated, others demolished. The *Samia* in full form must have contained about 890 lines. We still lack about 150 or so.

No hypothesis is given. At the beginning Moschion delivers a prologue in which he describes himself, dwelling particularly on the love shown to him by his father Demeas, the love which caused his father to bring Chrysis (the lady from Samos) into his house as a concubine, and the love which he himself felt toward the young Plangon, daughter of the poor neighbor Niceratus. He tells how, at a festival of Adonis, he made her pregnant. She has already given birth to a child and he fearfully awaits the return of his father and Niceratus from an extended trip to the north. Chrysis, Parmenon the slave, and Moschion are seen together at the beginning of Act 1. Chrysis agrees to pretend that the baby is hers for a while, in order that Moschion and Plangon may be safely married before the parents discover whose baby it really is. Chrysis herself may have given birth previously to a child that died, but the text contains no positive information on this point. In the last scene Demeas and Niceratus arrive, talking about their trip and the plans they have made for uniting their families by a marriage between Moschion and Plangon. In Act 2 Demeas, angry with Chrysis because she has had a child and has kept it, tells his son that he will not raise a bastard in his house and that he intends to throw the baby out into the street. Moschion urges him not to do this, in a fine speech previously thought to belong to a play called the *Knidia*. That play, incidentally, must now be removed from those composed by Menander. Preparation for the marriage between Moschion and Plangon is then started. At the beginning of Act 3 Demeas delivers a short monologue comparing himself to a ship at sea which, after sailing in fair weather, suddenly is hit by a storm. At this point the Cairo codex begins, duplicating and generally confirming the new Bodmer codex. One scene, however, is now in better shape than before. In it, lines 383-90, we see that the cook speaks in several places which previously had been ascribed to Chrysis. She had been thrown out of the house by Demeas, who, having overheard a conversation, believes that his own son Moschion is the father of the baby. Having been told that Chrysis was the mother, he now only has half of the truth. Niceratus comforts Chrysis and brings her into his own house, still not knowing that the baby is Plangon's. The first 126 lines of Act 4 are all new, some of them coming to us from the Barcelona fragment published in 1968. They contain the vital scene in which Demeas finally tells his own son that he knows he (i. e. Moschion) is the real father of the baby. In this scene, one of the most amusing and best written in all Menander, Moschion, not realizing that his father still believes Chrysis is the mother, admits the baby is his. He then casually tells Demeas not to let it

bother him. Thousands of young men do it all the time! Demeas is thunderstruck. Niceratus, immediately informed of this, also believes it is a case of incest. And then he is terrified by the thought of the coming marriage and the realization that he has taken the "tainted" Chrysis into his house. He rushes off in a fright. By this time Moschion has figured out what they suspect him of having done. He tells his father the truth. Then follows a series of whirlwind entrances and exits by Niceratus. He has just seen his daughter suckling the baby! It is all too much for him. The Cairo material joins the text here. Niceratus is finally quieted down when Demeas tells him that it is a holy child born to Plangon, that the father was Zeus who came down through the roof. Menander here has nicely prepared the way for this story by having Moschion inform us in the Prologue that he managed to be alone with Plangon at the festival by coming to her "through the roof." The Cairo codex contains only the first 70 lines of Act 5, but now we have all of it. Moschion, in order to test his father's feelings toward him, dresses as a soldier and pretends he is going away to some far distant place. Demeas repents of his hasty suspicions toward his son and asks his forgiveness in a particularly touching manner. Moschion then "allows" himself to be persuaded to give up his idea of soldiering. The wedding is on. The play ends.

One of the most significant features of the *Samia* is the unmistakable fact that, despite explosions of temper, all the individuals are basically of good heart and they display true, warm, human feelings toward each other. They are weak and then strong, angry and then forgiving. The interest of the play is as much in the characters as in the comical situation in which they find themselves. They react to stress and strain in different ways, but their innate humanity cannot be overcome. Menander's attitude to good and evil is that man's goodness must be considered in relation to the whole of his life. In the concluding scene of Act 5 he sums it all up, when he has Demeas say to his son, "Do not lay up in memory the one day of my life on which I failed in something, and then forget all the other days before it." Webster has postulated a very early date for the *Samia*. But as one compares it with the *Dyscolus*, that opinion is very difficult to accept. There is a subtlety in the treatment of character, a mature sympathy for the weaknesses of human nature, and a depth of thought in the play that suggest an older Menander. And the mention of the parasite Chaerephon (line 603) need not restrict the dating to a narrow limit of years, as Mette implies in *Lustrum*, X (1966), p. 20. Such references can become and remain literary commonplaces. Chaerephon's lifetime may easily have been as long as Menander's.

In line 95 I would suggest χειμ]άζομ' at the beginning. For the sentiment of the whole passage see Körte, fr. 335, lines 6-7.

The second volume, containing the *Aspis*, presents the text in exactly the same manner as was done for the *Samia*. An oddity here is the lack of accent marks on the papyrus, whereas for the *Samia* they were very abundant. The plot is fascinating, very well constructed, and quite new to us, despite the fact that we have known the *Comoedia Florentina* for some time. Of the 544 lines, spread out over five acts, the last 100 or so are very fragmentary, but, even so, a few key phrases occur in the fourth and fifth acts that

allow us to be fairly sure of the conclusion. The action in the first three acts is very clear. Daos, paedagogue of the young Cleostratus, has just returned from Asia, where, he tells us, he has lost his master in a military expedition against the Lycians. After identifying the corpse of Cleostratus by the shield, he returned to Athens with his master's accumulated wealth. Actually, as we are informed by Tyche, Cleostratus is alive, having given his shield to a companion who subsequently perished in a massacre. The wealth now belongs to the sister of Cleostratus, who has been living with her uncle Chaerestratus in Athens. In the house next door Smicrines, brother of Chaerestratus, schemes to acquire the new wealth by marrying the young girl. Daos and Chaerestratus attempt to prevent this by a trick: Chaerestratus will pretend to be dead, a circumstance that will make his own daughter more attractive bait because of his own greater wealth. That will turn the attention of Smicrines away from the young sister of Cleostratus and permit Chaereas, stepson of Chaerestratus, to marry her. After the marriage of Chaereas and before Smicrines can marry the daughter, Chaerestratus will be resurrected from the dead! A friend is found to act as a doctor in this trick and the fun begins. Such are the first three acts. In the fourth we can see that Cleostratus has at last made his way back to Athens. His return makes the fake death of Chaerestratus unnecessary. In the fifth act Chaerestratus returns to life. The conclusion thus sees a double resurrection and a double marriage. And Smicrines is certainly dealt with in some appropriate manner.

Unfortunately there is no way to date this play. Even the long and detailed description of the Greek army fighting against the Lycians by the Xanthus River is of no real help. But the characterization is very well done, the treatment of the plot superb. And Daos is exceptionally well drawn. In both of these plays the manner in which Menander handles the character of slaves is worth careful consideration. One could easily be led to assume Stoic influence. The tact and sophistication with which Daos counters the suggestion of Smicrines that he join him in his scheme make that particular scene one of the best in the play. He compares favorably with Parmenon in the *Samia*, when, in the first act, he reminds Moschion of his obligations to Plangon.

We are exceedingly grateful to the editors of these two outstanding volumes for their scholarship and good judgment. In the hundreds of places where I have compared their readings with the photographs I have almost always agreed with their transcription. It is, of course, no easy job to read and interpret these plays in their present form. There is no modern punctuation, no proper accents, no full indication of speakers or actions, and no corrections of words or spellings where there are obvious errors. Such things are quite properly left to later editions in modern format. Colin Austin has already produced one of his own in the *Kleine Texte* series (Berlin, 1969), an event that makes it unnecessary to refer here to the hundreds of errors and the innumerable novelties to be found in the papyrus. All in all, these remains of two plays show us a Menander in full mastery of plot and characterization.

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COLIN AUSTIN. Menandri Aspis et Samia, I: Textus (cum apparatu critico) et indices. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1969. Pp. VIII + 105. Price not stated. (*Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen,* 188a.)

Although serious errors in the transmission of the text of Menander's *Aspis* and *Samia* in the new Bodmer Papyri XXV and XXVI are not really numerous, there are many hundreds of small mistakes in orthography and similar matters. The principal duty of an editor, after the appearance of the *editio princeps,* is to produce a text that is intelligible to a modern reader, with the mistakes corrected, the parts correctly assigned to the several actors, the division into acts and scenes indicated, and, where applicable, an estimate of how much is still missing. A magisterial edition will also add a full introduction, notes, and perhaps a translation. The time for the latter is still very much in the future, after a number of minds has examined the remains and discussed the problems. Colin Austin has taken the first major step and has given us a text that will prove to be extremely useful to all concerned.

His text is conservative, well thought out and faithful to the received papyrus readings, at least where the papyrus is sound. He has corrected the bad spellings, supplied the accents, and added punctuation. In a model of its kind, he has presented at the end of the volume very full indices, in which one can find various lists, not only of the errors in the papyrus, but also of all the passages in which the papyrus indicates a change of speaker. Another index, of conjectures and restorations made in the past and which are now vindicated, is sufficiently short to make it compulsory reading for anyone attempting to do the same for the many fragmentary lines remaining in the present plays. To treat the process as a game or sport may be tempting, but it has no place in a scholarly work. Fortunately Austin is extremely reluctant to fill out those hundreds of half-lines or partial words that mar the text. All too often has a restoration blinded and misled later scholars. Better nothing than something that is wrong. In those places where Austin has filled out the words the results are usually very good, but in several places there will be disputes. This is inevitable. I shall confine myself to larger aspects of the plays as much as possible.

The *Aspis.* The scene is the usual one, two houses, one of Smicrines and the other of his brother Chaerestratus. Although acts four and five are in an extremely fragmentary condition, the first three are very full. In them we see that three actors, each playing three parts, could have performed all the scenes very easily. Once again the three-actor thesis seems to be valid for New Comedy. The same is true of the *Samia.*

The many half-lines and fragments in the later acts of the comedy defy precise restoration, although the general sense and the continuity can be worked out. In lines 427-8 there is an embarrassing difficulty. Daos, attempting to bring home to Smicrines the inscrutability of fate by quoting passages from the great tragedians, quotes one from Euripides and then says (in the Bodmer papyrus):

> Εὐριπίδου τοῦτ' ἐστί· τόδ' ἔχω [– – – – – – – – – – –],
> οὐ τῶν τυχόντων.

In the Florentine fragment at this point G. Vitelli had previously read το⌈ὐξε⌉υρημένον at the end of line 427. Austin could not combine Vitelli's reading with the Bodmer papyrus, and he decided to emend and to suggest, *exempli gratia*, τοῦδ' ἔχω μαθών, stating in the apparatus that Vitelli seems to have been guilty of a false reading of the papyrus. This is the only really serious error in judgment that I have been able to find in Austin's two texts. Admittedly, the photograph in *P. S. I.*, II of the Florentine fragment could be improved by more modern film, but to dismiss Vitelli with such a remark is unwarranted. Actually, as Handley has already seen in his short note (*University of London, Institute of Classical Studies*, XVI [1969], p. 104), the correct reading and combination of the remains are τόδε Χαιρήμονος.

The *Samia*. It is instructive to compare the old Cairo readings with those of the new Bodmer papyrus. We have now reached the stage in texts of Menander when we have extended passages in two copies to compare, one with the other. A most interesting example of *homoioteleuton* is found in lines 605-11, in Act 4, where six whole lines have dropped out of the B(odmer) papyrus, but are preserved in the C(airo) copy. It is a classic example. In line 605, near the end of the line, appear the words νοῦν ἔχεις. When the copyist finished that line, he saw the same words in the text from which he was copying, at the end of line 611. Thus, he began copying with line 612 and omitted 606-11. The copyist of C was more careful, fortunately for us.

Throughout his edition of both plays Austin has maintained a consistently high level of scholarship, but there are some lapses. One of them involves a matter of judgment. It is a case again of comparing B with C. In line 266 Austin follows B with its reading, ἔξω καθ' αὐτὴν ⟨καὶ⟩ διδοῦσαν τιτθίον instead of C, which has ἔξω διδοῦσαν τιτθίον παριὼν ἅμα. Clearly something is wrong. I believe C is correct at this point and that in B we have the result of an interlinear or marginal gloss incorporated into the body of the text. Suckling a baby "outside" may have seemed odd to some reader, who, in order to keep the act private, wrote καθ' αὐτήν above it or beside it. A later copyist put both the word and the phrase into the text. When either he or the copyist of B reached the word τιτθίον in his work, his eyes were distracted by σαμιανορω at the end of the preceding line. This led him to think that he had already copied παριωναμα when his eyes returned to the copy he was making, and he omitted it. This possibility, coupled with the necessity of adding ⟨καί⟩ to B convinces me that B is wrong. However, others will likely have other opinions.

Despite the few passages that I have emphasized, the amount of really good sense, solid scholarship, and conservative treatment in Austin's edition makes it a reliable and most useful tool for further work. The speed with which it was produced, so soon after the appearance of the *editio princeps*, is most commendable. It adds even more to our admiration for his *rapport* with Menander's style and diction.

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Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (Scholia Vetera), recensuit HARTMUT ERBSE. Vol. I: Praefatio et Scholia ad Libros A-Δ. Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969. Pp. CIII + 545; 3 pls. Bound DM 200.

With the present volume Hartmut Erbse reveals the first fruits of his work on the text of the *scholia vetera* to the *Iliad*, an ambitious project to which he has devoted about twenty years.

The ancient *scholia* (*sch.*) to the Iliad are: I. *sch.* found in the margins of Byzantine MSS, and II. *sch.* written on papyri. Class I is divided into 1) *sch. minora* (*sch. m.*), which in part go back probably as far as the Athenian schools for children in the 5th cent. B. C.; and 2) *sch. maiora* (*sch. mai.*), which in part can be traced to the Hellenistic age. The *sch. mai.* are classified into two categories: (a) seems to go back to *ca.* 500 A. D. when apparently a certain Nemesion formed a commentary based on epitomes of older commentaries by Didymus, Aristonicus, Nicanor, and Herodianus, (b) was formed during the middle ages from older commentaries reaching as far back as the 1st (or perhaps the 2nd) cent B. C. and is commonly labeled *sch. exegetica* (*sch. ex.*). Erbse's edition concentrates on the *sch. mai.*

Printed editions of ancient *sch.* to the *Iliad* date from the time of Lascaris who edited *sch. m.* (1517) to be followed by the Aldine edition (1521) and that of Barnes (1711). Of the *sch. mai.* from the 16th cent. to the middle of the 18th cent. only select portions were edited, such as those by Horneius (1620), by Bongiovanni (1740), and by Wasserbergh (1783). Next follow the editions of Villoison (1788) and of Bekker (1825). In 1835-8 Bachmann edited the *sch.* of cod. Li but Maass in an article published in *Hermes* (1884) showed that these *sch.* are a conflation of the *sch.* of codd. BE^{3}T and consequently of no value. Meanwhile, Cramer in his *Anecdota Graeca* (III, pp. 270-92 [1841]) had published parts of cod. T together with *sch.* from P^{11}. This was followed by the edition of Dindorf who edited in vols. I-II the *sch.* of cod. A (1875) and in vols. III-IV the *sch.* of cod. B (1877). Dindorf died in 1883 and the edition was completed by Maass, who in vols. V-VI edited the *sch.* of cod. T (1887-8). In 1891 Nicole edited in two vols. the *sch.* of cod. Ge; and with the appearance of Erbse's edition the history of the scholarship on the subject takes us to the present.

In his *praefatio* Erbse informs his reader of the classes among which the *sch.* to the *Iliad* are distributed (pp. XI-XIII), of the MSS in which the *sch. mai.* are preserved (comprising codd. [pp. XIII-XXXIII] and pap. [pp. XXXIV-XLIV]), of the *stemma* of the codd. (pp. XLV-LIX), of the *testimonia* ([*test.*], pp. LX-LXVI), of the older editions (pp. LXVII-LXXII), and of the principles Erbse used in determining the format of his edition concerning the text of the *sch.*, the *test.*, and the *apparatus criticus* ([*app. crit.*] pp. LXXIII-LXXVIII). Next follows a series of *compendia* which include authors (pp. LXXIX-LXXXIX), titles of books (pp. LXXXIX-XCVIII), other abbreviations used less frequently (p. XCIX), the *sigla* of the MSS comprising codd. and pap. (pp. C-CI), and a selected list of authors whose abbreviated names appear in the *app. crit.* (p. CII). After a short supplement to the

praefatio (p. CIII) follows the text of the *sch.* arranged in the sequence of the Hom. text (by book and line). If a book has *sch.* from pap. the text of these *sch.* precedes the text of the *sch.* from codd. Cross references succeed in coordinating codd. and pap. On every page, below the text of the *sch.*, we find a wealth of *test.* and further below the *app. crit.* arranged sometimes in the so-called "negative" form and sometimes in the "positive" form which allows Erbse to be concise but also lucid. *Compendia* printed with the text and in the margin inform the reader about the cod(d). from which a given *sch.* is taken, about the class to which it belongs and about the grammarian who fathered it in antiquity. After the text of the *sch.* to the first four books of the *Il.* (pp. 1-538), the vol. ends with seven pages of *Addenda et Corrigenda* (pp. 539-45) and three large folded photographs of pap. with *sch.* The book is well printed on quality paper the ivory color of which makes reading pleasant.

In this vol. Erbse has successfully collected and evaluated an enormous amount of material pertaining to these ancient *sch.* He has also presented this wealth of information in a convenient arrangement for his reader (e. g., all *sch.* from codd. pertaining to a given line of the *Il.* are found together in one sequence, while in the Dindorf-Maass edition such *sch.* are not only incomplete but also scattered throughout different vols. depending on whether they come from codd. A or B or T).

Although Erbse has contributed significantly to the text of the *sch.* by means of conjectures, transpositions, additions or modifications of *lemmata*, etc., there are still many *loci nondum expediti* waiting daggered for *emendationes palmares.*

In the Greek text there are some mistakes, mostly accents. Thus, to confine myself to only the text of A (pp. 1-162), we must read: γὰρ (p. 7, 77); παραλαμβάνει (p. 16, 76); ὥς (p. 20, 64); στρατῷ (p. 34, 7); σύνδεσμον (p. 35, 14); τὸν (p. 37, 69); αὐτῷ (p. 44, 28); δέ που (p. 45, 63); πωλεῖταί τις (p. 53, 58); ὅμματ' (p. 72, 4); καί (p. 75, 88); ἐθαλάσσευόν τινες (p. 94, 46-47); γάρ (p. 106, 41); γάρ σεο (p. 109, 8); ἐξυγραίνεσθαι (p. 113, 42); αἰεὶ (p. 118, 68); ἀλλ' (p. 120, 9); ἐδητύος (p. 131, 76); ἐφ' ὧν (p. 138, 66); 'Αχαιοὶ (p. 139, 96); χεῖρας (p. 151, 2) Φιλόχορός φησι (p. 158, 71). Mistakes in references are rare, e. g. we must write Ξ 382 on p. 33, 57 and Φ 279 on p. 117, 45.

Further there are some inconsistencies. Thus, while Erbse as a rule inserts a dagger in his text where a verse is unmetrical because of the omission of a word or words (e. g., p. 12, 4 [= ι 378] δὴ †ὁ μοχλὸς [the adv. τάχ' being omitted]) sometimes such a dagger is ommitted, as e. g. on p. 120, 9 [= γ 317] ἐς Μενέλαον (μὲν being omitted after ἐς), or the omitted word is added in the text (as e. g. on p. 136, 21 [= Λ 64] μέν ⟨τε⟩ μετὰ πρώτοισι). In places where the text of the *sch.* differs from the text of the *Iliad* of standard Homeric editions (such as the one by T. W. Allen), Erbse as a rule records in the *app. crit.* the reading of the standard editions; however, there are numerous places where no such record appears (e. g., the following idiosyncratic *lectiones* of the text of *Iliad* in the *sch.* of *Il.* A are not matched in the *app. crit.* by the cor-

responding readings of our standard editions: p. 33, 57 [= Ξ 382] δόσκεν (Hom. δόσκον); p. 108, 85 [= Σ 124] ἀδινὰ (Hom. ἀδινὸν); p. 127, 8 [= ξ 428] πάντοθεν (Hom. πάντων); p. 137, 40 [= T351] ἐκκατεπᾶλτο (Hom. ἐκ κατεπᾶλτο); p. 158, 69 [= Φ 417] ἐσαγείρατο (Hom. ἐσαγείρετο). Further, while verses or portions of verses from Homer as a rule when occurring in the text of a *sch.* are set off by quotations („ "), quite frequently instead of quotations Erbse switches to spaced letters (to give only two examples from two consecutive pages, on p. 64, 10 we read τὸ „εἶως μὲν ῥ' ἐπέτοντο" (β 148) but on p. 63, 5 we read ἐν τ ῷ ἔ λ κ ε τ ο δ' ἐ κ κ ο λ ε ο ῖ ο (A194) [incidentally the τ ῷ ought not to be spaced for it does not belong to the Hom. text].

An important contribution to our knowledge of the *sch.* is Erbse's detailed *stemma* of the codd. He has convincingly argued (helped to a large extent by the stemmatic appraisal of earlier scholars, especially Dindorf and Maass) that cod. T and the now lost cod. b [the text of the latter can be reconstructed on the basis of codd. C, E^3, B(*B), E^4 (Le)] establish c, the archetype of all extant codd. of *sch. ex.* Less convincing, because it is based to a considerable degree on preconceptions, but in my opinion still probable, is Erbse's *stemma* of the family to which cod. A belongs. He argues that the archetype of cod. A is the lost commentary by Apion and Heliodorus or Herodorus (*Ap. H.*), which commentary can be reconstructed on the basis of A (A^a), *Suda, Eustathius, Et. Genuinum,* and the codd. of what appears in Erbse's edition as class h. In his text of the *sch.* Erbse aims at reconstructing the text of the archetypes c and *Ap. H.* As a rule, whenever the text is corrupt he daggers the passage and confines conjectures and emendations to the *app. crit.* (I use "emendations" in the meaning of "highly probable conjectures"). But as a result of this practice Erbse's text is overloaded with daggers. I believe that it would have been much better if Erbse had substituted, whenever possible, the corruptions of c and *Ap. H.* with the corresponding correct readings of the pre-c and pre-*Ap. H.* text of the *sch.*, and if he had confined these corruptions to the *app. crit.* On p. 14, 35, e. g., Erbse's text reads „ἱππεῦσιν μὲν †πρώτοις† ἐπετέλλετο" (Δ 301).b(BC)T. It is obvious that the unmetrical πρώτοις is a corruption which developed under the influence of the preceding dat. ἱππεῦσι, and that most probably, even certainly, the pre-c text had (with Hom., Δ 301) πρῶτ'. I suggest that it would have been better if Erbse had introduced πρῶτ' in his text and transferred the corrupt πρώτοις to the *app. crit.* Had Erbse followed this line he would have freed his edition from many *cruces* such as on pp. 31, 25; 37, 67; 48, 21; 89, 15; 92, 84; 93, 16; 95, 74; 106, 44; 110, 36; 118, 67-69; 131, 83 (to confine myself to examples from book A).[1] After all has not Erbse elsewhere transcended the texts of c and *Ap. H.* when he introduced in the text (instead of in the *app. crit.*) *lemmata* and transpositions, even a few

[1] I find it particularly strange that on p. 109, 11 Erbse following the codd. reads ὀπόθ' Ἠλείοισι (without even daggering ὀπόθ') instead of the correct ὀπότ' Ἠλείοισι. Obviously ὀπόθ' is an error produced during the transmission of the text by someone who (by false analogy to the breathing of the common noun ἥλιος?) wrote Ἠλείοισι for Ἠλείοισι.

emendations (cf. pp. 14, 44; 18, 38; 32, 48, etc.) which did not exist in the text of c or *Ap. H.*? Erbse's decision to keep in his text such corruptions of c and *Ap. H.* does not add to the scientific value of his edition but only creates an inconvenience for the reader. Such surface deficiencies, however, do not mar the value of Erbse's work as a whole.

It is my belief that if the other vols. of Erbse's edition maintain the excellence of this first vol., then his edition not only supersedes its predecessors, but also lays the foundations for the definitive edition of the *sch. vetera* to the *Iliad.*

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EGIL KRAGGERUD. Aeneisstudien. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1968. Pp. 248. 25 N. kr. (paper). (*Symbolae Osloenses*, Fasc. Supplet. XXII.)

The aim of this book, as the author—recently appointed Professor Ordinarius of Latin at the University of Oslo—states in the preface, is to offer new interpretations of some passages and scenes of the *Aeneid.* In this reviewer's opinion, the *maius opus* of Kraggerud's book, in contrast to the *Aeneid*, consists of its first half, which is a very valuable though, by necessity, not complete discussion of the character of Aeneas within the structure (*Aufbau*) of the epic. It is followed by a brief discussion of the much disputed meaning of *septima aestas* and a lengthy chapter on the games in Book V and their function. Four excursuses on minor, mostly textual questions, a bibliography, and a (selective) index of the passages discussed round out this book; a general index is a desideratum.

Kraggerud's discursive method may take some getting used to, but it is the inevitable result of his attempt to come to grips with some examples of Vergil's poetic art (*Dichtkunst*). Anyone who has taught an advanced course in Vergil knows that virtually any passage in the epic extends beyond itself and that it does not take long before the sheer power of association—some in the poet's mind, some, to be sure, in our own—drives one to skip from one passage to the other, marvelling at ever newly emerging interconnections. It is gratifying to see an example of this pursuit, which need not be as chaotic as it sounds, in print because it alone imparts to the reader some sense of the epic's dense complexity. It should be added that unlike Putnam, Kraggerud, in the first half of his book, does not fall into the trap of finding presumed parallels on the basis of the *Index Verborum Vergilianus* and thus forcing similarities on

passages that, more often than not, have nothing to do with each other. The development of Aeneas, especially in the first eight books, provides a solid focus for Kraggerud's observations, and the passages and episodes he discusses are linked by content rather than schematic motif-hunting.

This "development" of Aeneas is one of the epic's central questions and we can be grateful to the author for illuminating it from so many angles and offering one of the most sensible discussions of it to date. Rejecting Heinze's view of character development in the modern sense of the term and building, implicitly and explicitly, on Pöschl's observations, Kraggerud demonstrates that it is the hero's attitude to the *fatum* that changes. This change coincides with the structural divisions of the epic: in the first third, Aeneas acts from external impulses, in the central third, he gains insight into his mission and accepts it, and the final four books see him as the unquestioning executor of his *fatum*. While this infuses some meaning into the often arid structuralizations of the *Aeneid*, the author is on more subjective ground with his claim that the even-numbered books contain positive impulses for Aeneas' progressive relation to his *fatum*, whereas the odd-numbered books mostly show his setbacks. For instance, we cannot ignore Aeneas' *errores* in Troy and the loss of Creusa in preference to the successful rescue of Anchises and Ascanius; one might even say that these events are related to the *errores* in Book III and the loss of Anchises and that both books thus prepare all the more effectively for Aeneas' reactions in Book IV. Nor can we overlook Venus' address to Aeneas in Book I, which is even more direct than Jupiter's intervention in Book IV.

There is no space here to comment on the many fine individual observations that Kraggerud is offering for the passages he has chosen to discuss. Especially successful are his interpretations of the contrast in appearance between the related Aeneas and Atlas (pp. 39-43) and of the sculptures on the doors of the Apollo temple at Cumae, and in particular of the relevance of Daedalus' situation to Aeneas' (pp. 52-70). What is particularly refreshing, however, is that Kraggerud, even in the most perceptive and detailed *Einzelinterpretation* does not overinterpret one passage at the expense of others and never creates too many trees to see the forest, nor does he manipulate or pass over in silence anything that might be hard to reconcile with his general thesis. He deals primarily with the Odyssean part of the *Aeneid*, which he brilliantly interprets as an internalization of Odysseus' *errores*; we may note the coincidence between this de-objectification of content and the "subjective" style as defined by Otis. Still, Kraggerud's findings are of considerable importance for the Iliadic part of the *Aeneid*, although he touches on this aspect only briefly. They will do much, I hope, to inter the simplistic notion, which is the result of centuries of Christian or at least paratheological interpretation of the *Aeneid*, that Aeneas undergoes a conversion from *furor* (Book II) to *pietas, humanitas*, saintly meekness, and all the rest. In the final books, Aeneas' warlike *furor* is almost a leitmotif: *furere* (X, 545, 604, 802); *fervidus* (X, 788; XII, 748, 951); *furia* (XII, 946); *ira* (XII, 108, 494, 499, 946). To be sure, Aeneas is agonized by the

conquests he must constantly make to bring the gods to Latium and establish peace;[1] he has pity and compassion, but to Vergil and the Roman reader this is in no way inconsistent with Aeneas' raging into battle, even with a glad heart (X, 787, 874; XII, 109), and with killing off his enemies.

The character of the fighting Aeneas, then, is the same in Troy and Latium, and to project modern psychological and even moral notions into the *Aeneid* which is, above all, a reflection of Rome's national experience (the Romans most assuredly did not conquer the Mediterranean with *pietas*) can only lead to serious misreadings of the Roman epic. The difference between Aeneas in Book II and the later books, as Kraggerud reminds us (p. 23), is that he fights against the *fatum* here whereas he is on its side later. We might add that Vergil explicitly condemns *furor impius* and *bellum impium*, but not even implicitly the *furor* with which Aeneas wages his *bellum pium et iustum*.

The second part of Kraggerud's studies does not bear on similarly crucial questions but is a solid contribution to the interpretation of Book V (I have no quarrel with Kraggerud's interpretation of *septima aestas* as *septimus annus* to which he devotes a brief, separate chapter, pp. 106-17). Besides stressing the historical significance of the setting, which can only please this reviewer (see *A. J. P.*, LXXXIX [1968], pp. 157-85), he demonstrates, quite convincingly, that the games are an anticipation of future events, or epitomize the course of the epic's events in general. The rowing contest, e. g., belongs to the latter category with Sicily symbolizing the *meta*, the turning point of the Trojan's wanderings toward Italy. Not surprisingly, the boxing match between Dares and Entellus is interpreted as foreshadowing Aeneas' fight against Turnus, whereas the foot race, involving Nisus and Euryalus, is construed with unwarranted narrowness[2] as a playful parallel to their night expedition in Book IX. Kraggerud goes on to look at the latter episode in the light of the former and thus casts upon it an optimistic glow which it simply does not have in its context. It is more troublesome that in this chapter, where he is trying overly hard to prove his point, the author lapses into constructing some rather tedious and labored "parallels." The image of the crushed snake (V, 243 ff.), for instance—and from what interpretive whims have snakes in the *Aeneid* not suffered—is taken as an allusion to the defeat of Catiline (p. 177)! In sum, although the author's basic idea about the games—and it is regrettable that he does not seem to have read Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*—strikes me as quite justifiable, its execution at times is too heavy-handed and altogether too long. And while it is quite

[1] See, for example, his killing of Lausus (X, 811-32), which explicitly contrasts with Turnus' killing of Pallas; further, his words on Pallas' death (XI, 96-7) and to the Latin envoys (XI, 110-14), his attempt to salvage the truce (XII, 313-17), and the farewell to his son (XII, 433-4), with the comments of M. W. Edwards, *Phoenix*, XIV (1960), p. 163, all ignored, along with the various shades of meaning of *furor*, by M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 151-201.

[2] On the relevance of the foot race to the events in Book XII see the excellent note by Putnam, *op. cit.*, p. 215, n. 22.

all right to see symbols all over the *Aeneid*, we should never forget the literal meaning of the epic's passages and episodes. The games are, after all, actual games and offer Aeneas, the Trojans, and the reader a welcome, leisurely break in the midst of their past and future exertions.

German scholars could learn much from this Norwegian professor about the lucid and readable use of their language. A list of errata, all minor, has been sent to the author.

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SIR RONALD SYME. Ammianus and the Historia Augusta. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1968. Pp. viii + 238. $6.25.

Four score years have passed, as I write, since Dessau let loose the dogs of war in the arena of the *Historia Augusta*. Not, as the biographies purported to be, the product of six authors living in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, but a fraud, perpetrated by one man, to be dated around 395. The battles have been numerous and bitter in the intervening years, with keen attempts to pinpoint truth in all its aspects: the date, the purpose, the identity of author or authors, the relationship with securely-dated texts. Much weight has been placed upon the use of a novel word, such as the renowned *carpentum* of the city prefect; too often, it seems, scholars have not kept firmly in mind how much of Latin literature has been lost. The first appearance of strange words or ideas might be much earlier than we can now discern.

Great effort and deadly seriousness have been in the forefront of the campaign; with them have appeared instances of the lamentable *odium philologicum*. Some scholars still cling to the period announced by the *H. A.*; others push it back as far as the first quarter of the fifth century. And the eighty years have produced aberrations such as Domaszewski's theory of a single author living in Nîmes at a time later still. Where is truth?

Sir Ronald has written an engaging, an amusing, and a congenial book on this difficult subject. It is a book unlike all his others. Most of the chapters are very brief, reading rather like appendices of *Tacitus*. It is more mellow and less personal; if memory fails not, in *The Roman Revolution* and *Tacitus* he neither cites another scholar nor quotes another person's work in the text. Here, one can largely trace the history of argumentation without recourse to the footnotes. And his purpose may seem odd to some: not to seek out truth but to establish falsehood.

Syme is much concerned with fictions and fabrications. He tries thereby to determine the social milieu of the author (for he believes there is only one: the team of six is part of the fraud), his manner of working, his education and reading matter, his idiosyncrasies, and much else of a personal nature. Into what age does the author fit?

The age of those titans of the late empire, Ammianus and Jerome, it is argued; the biographer is, on certain points, indebted to the historian, and "remarks about Ammianus avail to furnish a setting of 'life and times.'" This is a field in which Sir Ronald is so extraordinarily skillful, and one delights in following the conjunction of names and events that are often, by themselves, totally unrevealing.

The conclusions will disappoint some students of the *H. A.*, I am sure. The author wrote for amusement, perhaps hoping to gain for himself the prestige of the new Suetonius, to take rank with Tacitus' successor Ammianus and Pliny the Younger's current rival, Symmachus. There is no "Tendenz," hence the arguments about a defense of paganism against the newly-established official religion, rising from the circle of Symmachus, fall by the wayside. Futile too to identify the author as Nicomachus Flavianus, senior or junior; his position is far humbler. He fits into a picture of literateurs around the year 400, men such as Macrobius and Servius. One might add the author of the commentaries on Cicero's Verrine orations, known as Pseudo-Asconius; possible dependence upon Orosius suggests a date after 417. The author of the *H. A.* knew his Cicero, the orations if not more.

There is here, as in all Syme's work, immense learning and sure mastery. This volume does not match his earlier works because the subject matter does not permit it; the theme is a lesser one. He does not hope to win agreement on all points; he does hope to indicate that the cumulative evidence (and here chapter XIII is particularly crucial) points to a date in the last decade of the fourth century. This thesis can well stand even if one disagrees with individual arguments. For example, Sir Ronald argues vigorously that the source for the early lives was *Ignotus*, rather than the generally accepted Marius Maximus. In the book, the discussion is brief; elsewhere, in two articles entitled "*Ignotus*, the Good Biographer" (*H. A. Colloquium Bonn 1966-67* [1968], pp. 131-53) and "Not Marius Maximus" (*Hermes*, XCVI [1968], pp. 494-502), the thesis is urged in detail. *Ignotus* is sober and reliable, Marius Maximus retails the scandalous. Do we know as much about Marius Maximus as will permit such a sure judgment? As Sir Ronald states in another context (p. 111), it may be that "there is no need to call up ghosts from limbo and hold converse with phantoms."

Also subject to doubt is the close relation which is invoked between events and persons mentioned in the *H. A.* and those elsewhere on historical record. If the stuff of the collection is fantasy, Sir Ronald's view of 1965 may be more appealing (p. 79, n. 2): "it is hazardous to bring the HA into immediate relation with any historical transactions."

There is little doubt, after sundry researches of the last several decades, that the *H. A.* are astonishingly reliable and knowledgeable on matters of Roman topography. That being the case, must the source of the item in the *H. A.* about a battle being decided by a tempest (*Gord.*, 16, 2) have contemporary reference to the fate of the pagan army at the battle of the river Frigidus? One needed only to glance at the great figure on the Column of Marcus Aurelius for such an inspiration.

No matter. Sir Ronald has put *H. A.* studies on a new track. All students of the corpus will be grateful to him. It is a bit chastening to realize that Syme's dating agrees with Dessau's. Eighty years of smoke and fire; how much of it was, in the last analysis, worthwhile?

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HELGA BOTERMANN. Die Soldaten und die römische Politik in der Zeit von Caesars Tod bis zur Begründung des Zweiten Triumvirats. Munich, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1968. Pp. xii + 231. DM 34. (*Zetemata*, Heft 46.)

The aim of this work, a dissertation submitted to Göttingen University, is to illustrate the interaction between the generals (legal or otherwise) and their troops and veterans during 44-43 B. C. and, in particular, to discuss all cases where the soldiery took the initiative and forced their commanders' hands. The thread of the narrative is chronological throughout, each episode being discussed as it arises. The book is rounded out with a brief conclusion, and a lengthy appendix which deals with the origin, composition, and location of all legions then under arms.

The importance of the troops and veterans during these two years has always been clear. But as Botermann justly observes, it has too often been considered the importance of "Herrschaftsobjekte," men manipulated by their leaders to produce the desired result. And this fosters the view that their every expression of discontent was triggered by the rival politicians of the day, and that whatever a general might claim, the initiative never came from the soldiery themselves. Botermann argues for a slightly more complicated (though hardly more satisfactory) picture. In her opinion, the regular troops with but two exceptions showed no initiative before November 44, when Antony faced a mutiny among the legions summoned from Macedonia to Brundisium. Though that mutiny was instigated largely by Octavian's bribery, it inaugurated a phase in which legions everywhere tried of their own accord to withhold their loyalty until promised money and land. The sources assert that the Caesarian legions were also moved by respect for Caesar and a wish to avenge his death, but it was in fact their material interests alone which influenced them, as is shown by their readiness to change sides rather than endanger their lives in battle. The "pietas-Motiv" was confined to the Caesarian veterans, especially the ex-centurions. There too it was bound up with a wish to keep or gain land, but these veterans were sufficiently devoted to Caesar's memory as not to want Antony and Octavian at one another's throats. From July 44, therefore, they refused steadfastly to split into two factions and fight among themselves. And if by the time of Actium the soldiery were ready to take sides, this—says Botermann—was because these veterans had faded away and their places were taken by men who re-

garded themselves as clients either of Antony or of Octavian.

If these conclusions mark an advance on the "Herrschaftsobjekte" theory, they all remain open to question, and some appear completely unacceptable. It is doubtful, for example, that the legions ever took the initiative before November 44, or that they always took it after that date. The behavior of Lepidus' legion in March 44 (pp. 2 ff.) hardly warrants the assertion that "sich die Soldaten von der die Regel bildenden Passivität befreiten" (p. 173); for all their impact on events, they acted under their commander's orders. Similarly with the legions stationed in Macedonia which, again in March 44, offered Octavian their help as soon as they heard of Caesar's murder. Though Botermann declares the offer spontaneous (p. 15), the evidence cannot exclude the possibility that the offer was solicited by Octavian's friends, men still urging an appeal to the troops a month later (cf. p. 17). As for the "activism" of the troops after November 44, M. Brutus' ability to master his soldiers' venality and wish for self-preservation is far from being the exception which proves the rule (so B., p. 175). D. Brutus' troops allowed themselves to be shut up in Mutina for several months and steadily resisted the blandishments with which Antony provoked unrest in the forces of Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus (pp. 71-4). More than venality and the wish for self-preservation is involved here, and a majority of the men were not even Caesarians. Then there is the case of M. Lepidus (pp. 114 ff.). Confronted by Antony in May 43, he claimed that his own men were unwilling to fight his former associate. But strangely enough, it took ten full days of unrestricted fraternisation between the two armies before the commanders reached an agreement. Whatever game Lepidus was playing, it seems that his control was greater and the activism of his troops much less than Botermann is prepared to admit. It cannot be denied that there were cases where the troops forced their commanders' hands, but the number of exceptions is also large.

However, it is the battle of Forum Gallorum in April 43 which causes Botermann serious difficulty. Since troops and veterans fought with the greatest ferocity, the battle threatens both the theory that the troops always thought first of their own skins, and the view that the veterans refused to be polarised between Antony and Octavian at the expense of Caesarian unity. So far as the troops are concerned, Botermann disposes of Domaszewski's theory of Caesarian-Pompeian enmities, but goes on to reject as "too naive" (p. 82) the evidence of Appian, *B. C.*, III, 67. According to him, the legions IV and Martia (fighting now for Octavian) hated Antony for his harshness to them during the mutiny of November 44, whereas the legions II and XXXV (still fighting for Antony) were determined to punish their former comrades for desertion. Since the legions IV and Martia are not mentioned explicitly in the letter which Antony sent to Hirtius and Octavian in March (it is quoted at length by Cicero, *Phil.*, XIII, 22-48), Botermann holds that they fought so strenuously because they had been excluded from the amnesty Antony proposed and could expect no mercy. She has overlooked Antony's statement *ut meorum iniurias ferre possim, si aut obliuisci uelint ipsi fecisse aut ulcisci parati sunt una*

nobiscum Caesaris mortem (*Phil.*, XIII, 46), surely an indication of his willingness to pardon any opponent who recognized the error of his ways. What more natural than that Antony's men should be angered by their former comrades' failure to accept this generous offer of reconciliation, and what more natural than that the legions IV and Martia should fight so desperately to extricate themselves from a situation in which they themselves had excluded any chance of surrendering? Appian's explanation may be naïve, but it fits the facts well.

If this is correct, it follows that ideological factors of some kind could influence the troops' conduct. It therefore seems most unfortunate that Botermann nowhere discusses the view that the soldiery were not motivated by political considerations as such, but thought rather in moral terms (Drexler, *Hermes*, LXX [1935], pp. 208 ff.; Gabba, *Athenaeum*, XXIX [1951], pp. 178 ff.; cf. Harmand, *L'armée et le soldat à Rome* [Paris, 1967], pp. 447 ff.). Though she often concludes that the soldiery had little awareness of or interest in politics (pp. 43 f., 50 ff., 77, 81 f., 95 f., 105), she consistently regards *pietas Caesaris* as a force which made the veterans politically aware of the need for unity within the Caesarian faction, and rejects or discounts any evidence for a split within their ranks. Nicolaus (*Vita Caesaris*, 29) reports that in July 44 the veterans persuaded Antony to seek a reconciliation with Octavian, but when a crowd of them went to fetch the young man, he mistook them for men sent to kill him. Botermann rejects the episode (p. 29, n. 6), although it is entirely plausible and there is no reason to assume a fabrication in which Octavian appears as a coward or a fool. In October 44 Octavian agitated among the veterans of Calatia; he won over the bulk of the colonists at once but needed an extra day to persuade the decurions (ex-centurions, no doubt). Botermann stresses the hesitation of the latter group as proof that they were concerned for Caesarian unity, but rather loses sight of the fact that they hesitated only for 24 hours (pp. 37 ff.), and did not abandon him until he made clear his intention of attacking Antony (pp. 43 ff.). Finally, Botermann attributes the veterans' participation in the battle of Forum Gallorum to the "Gefühl soldatischer Solidarität" (p. 84); given her theories, this smacks of desperation. These incidents, of course, cannot disprove Botermann's contention that *pietas Caesaris* exerted political pressure on the veterans. But neither can the persistent use of the motif as a political slogan by Octavian and Antony prove the existence of political thought, least of all deep political thought, among the soldiery. If we assume that the motif exerted a moral pressure on the bulk of the veterans, however, it is much easier to explain their political myopia and their readiness to express their *pietas* in ways destructive of Caesarian unity—until the carnage of Forum Gallorum and Mutina pointed up the dangers inherent in such behavior. Those battles, it may be added, seem to me a far more potent force for Caesarian unity than the veterans' influence, while the readiness of the soldiery to fight at Actium is as aptly explained by fading memories as it is by veterans fading away.

Considerations of space preclude discussion of such matters as Botermann's ideas on *clientela* (cf. pp. 31 f.) or the Antonian *lex*

de tertia decuria (pp. 33, 65). On matters of detail, however, it must be emphasized that she has much of value to offer. There are excellent discussions of individual episodes (the publishers deserve thanks for including an *index locorum*), there is the appendix on the legions, and there is a sound—often perceptive—analysis of the policies of the various commanders. If the main theses of the book fail to convince, it remains a work which no serious student of the period can afford to ignore.

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Z. YAVETZ. Plebs and Princeps. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969. Pp. ix + 170.

The urban *plebs* is Rome's "forgotten man." Modern historians have generally paid scant attention to the Roman masses or the "common people." The reason, of course, is obvious. Material is lacking. Ancient writers did not find the *plebs* interesting. Their concern was with *haute politique* and war. Yavetz's book seeks to redress the balance somewhat. It fills a gap and serves a useful purpose.

The work is not meant as a comprehensive treatment. Yavetz delineates the limitations in his introduction. A relatively brief but pivotal chronological period is covered: from Caesar through Nero. It is the urban, not the rural commons that is under consideration; its effect on internal rather than on external policy. The author is not concerned with the ethnic composition of the *plebs* nor with its economic situation (except in so far as the latter provoked certain outbursts of popular activity). The sociological and psychological aspects of the masses receive some scattered remarks. Yavetz has read a number of modern treatises by sociologists and social historians of other eras. But lack of ancient testimony make their conclusions difficult to apply to antiquity. Yavetz does not dwell on these elements. Happily, he remains a classical historian, not a social scientist. The aim of the book really is to collect and examine evidence of popular activity in the Caesarian and Julio-Claudian periods.

Yavetz has two principal theses: that the urban *plebs* played a larger role in internal policy than is usually acknowledged and that the ancient image of a fickle and selfish mob ignores the real consistency and rationale of popular behavior. Yet the final result is curiously negative. The *plebs* does not emerge as a force of serious importance. And, despite Yavetz's endeavors, the dominant impression is still one of a fickle and selfish mob.

The author has adopted an unusual organization. His second and longest chapter (the first is introductory) sets out a series of illustrations of crowd behavior and the ancient evidence for them. Yavetz's purpose is to assemble all the relevant information in one section, thereby freeing himself for analysis of it in the remainder

of the book. The structure provides some difficulty. Yavetz recounts all the examples under topical rubrics in the second chapter, but proceeds thereafter to treat the material chronologically. This necessitates a certain amount of repetition and many cross-references. It might have been more salutary to present evidence and analysis in combination.

The third chapter examines Julius Caesar's hold on the favor of the masses. Yavetz argues that the *plebs* did not select its idols indiscriminately or irrationally. Largess was insufficient to win affection. The personality and sincerity of the benefactor were critical ingredients. Caesar outbid his rivals because his concern for the people was more genuine. The argument is not wholly persuasive. To be sure, Caesar played on his Marian connections and advocated popular causes (p. 44). But Yavetz says nothing of his relations with the Sullan nobility, which he also employed to good effect. Popular favor could be sacrificed for personal power. The "first triumvirate" and Caesar's consulship in 59 roused considerable hostility among the *plebs*. There is nothing so popular, says Cicero in 59, as hatred of the *populares*. Why no mention of the evidence, full and revealing, for that year? Contrast between Pompey and Caesar is overdrawn. It is hazardous to maintain that Pompey's popularity in the 70's was soon forgotten (p. 49). One need read only Cicero's *De Imperio Pompeii* or Plutarch's *Pompeius* to refute that statement. Yavetz rightly points out that the phrase *levitas popularis* is an aristocratic sneer. But it does not follow that politicians with *gravitas* found disfavor with the populace (pp. 52-3). Much less can it be maintained that "any politician who stood up courageously against senatorial policies was idolized by the *plebs*" (p. 54). Demagogic tribunes like Rullus or Vatinius could not claim such treatment. And there will have been countless others whose names are obscure or forgotten. In this instance, as in many others, Yavetz oddly gives the *plebs* less, not more, than its due.

A lengthy exposition follows on pseudo-Marius and the aftermath of Caesar's assassination. The account is interesting and valuable, though it is not clear why so much space is devoted to these events (pp. 58-73), out of proportion to the rest of the book. Yavetz's analysis of Antony's maneuvers in 44 is illuminating. Despite association with Caesar he found no support from the *plebs*. Antony was a soldier by temperament, playing to the veterans but scorning the masses. As Yavetz's careful discussion shows, this caused him discomfort and difficulty in 44. Octavian's effort to win the *plebs* by honoring Caesar's memory, however, is pressed too far (pp. 73-6). There were other, more important, groups to whom that gesture would be welcome, including financiers and many senators, as well as the veterans. Octavian had no need to exert himself for the populace. As Yavetz himself admits, he lost popular favor shortly thereafter anyway (pp. 77-80).

Chapter five receives the heading "The Tribunician Power in Shaping the Image of the Principate." But its content belies the title. The chapter deals with Octavian's rise to sole authority and with his *beneficia* to the masses. *Tribunicia potestas* is given but brief discussion on a single page (p. 93; cf. 89). On the perplexing

question of its form when adopted by Caesar and Octavian, Yavetz seeks a tortured middle course. His solution is that they received "what amounted to *tribunicia potestas*" (pp. 54-5, 93). That, of course, is no solution at all. Better to admit that none is likely. The common notion that Augustus soft-pedalled the *imperium proconsulare* but advertised the tribunician power in his *Res Gestae* is repeated by Yavetz (p. 56). In fact, little is made of the *trib. pot.* in that document. It was not a principal purpose of the *Res Gestae* to delineate Augustus' constitutional prerogatives.

The sixth chapter discusses relations between the *plebs* and the Julio-Claudians. Tiberius' dour personality made him unpopular with the masses (pp. 105-9). The same deficiency, of course, made him unpopular with the senatorial class. There was nothing distinctive about the *plebs'* attitude here. The personal charisma of Germanicus is somewhat exaggerated (p. 110). Yavetz seems to accept rather too uncritically the Tacitean portrait. Not everyone will countenance the assertion that Tiberius "probably desired the death of Germanicus" (p. 111). On this, the author would have profited from Koestermann's article in *Historia*, 1958.

On the other Julio-Claudians Yavetz has relatively little to contribute. The sharp shift of popular attitude toward Caligula from adulation to revulsion is awkward and not clearly explained (pp. 113-18). Similarly awkward is the conclusion that Rome's commons neither hated nor liked Claudius. On what grounds? Because some of Claudius' actions catered to the populace and others angered them (pp. 118-20). But the same was true of Nero (pp. 121-9). Yet Yavetz regards him as the unalloyed darling of the mob. Much stress is placed on Nero's humiliation of the upper classes. That, allegedly, was always sure to tickle the fancy of the crowd. But the principle is not applicable throughout, even to Yavetz's own categories of popular heroes and villains. Caesar did not unduly debase the nobility, nor did Augustus. And no small number of senators suffered execution in the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius.

In sum, Yavetz has tackled an important subject and provided much valuable information. One may lament the limitations which he himself imposed on the inquiry; but perhaps a fuller study will be forthcoming in the future. What strikes one most oddly about the work, however, is that the conclusions do not buttress the anticipated purpose of providing a more flattering portrait of the commons. Yavetz summarizes in his epilogue the characteristics which the *plebs* sought in its ruler: (1) a dispenser of largess and amusements; (2) a man who catered or at least appeared to cater to popular tastes; (3) one who indulged in humiliating the nobility; (4) and one who acted in accordance with the principles of justice (pp. 137-9). Only the last reflects any credit on the *plebs*. And the examples cited for this are few and exceptional (pp. 15, 17, 34-5). The rest, if true, would tend to confirm the image retailed by hostile ancient authorities: a mob that was whimsical, avaricious, and self-indulgent. In Yavetz's hands, the activities of the *plebs* are somewhat more rationalized; they are not any more attractive.

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VICTOR EHRENBERG. From Solon to Socrates: Greek History and Civilization During the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B. C. London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1968. (Distributed in the U. S. by Barnes and Noble, Inc., N. Y.) Pp. xv + 493; 10 maps. $8.00 (cloth); $4.25 (paper).

The sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, even more than the canonically classical combination of the fifth and fourth, have a strong appeal for the student of Greek history today. They are the centuries of growth and flowering. Of Greece's distinctive contributions to civilization only rhetoric and philosophy do not reach their full development in this time. But the teacher in the English-speaking world has long lacked the book to put in the hands of the novice or to serve as the companion of the aspiring specialist. So it is with eagerness that one greets the simultaneous appearance in hard-cover and in paper of a modern account of the two centuries by a respected scholar who is known for his numerous special studies on the period.

The book is comprehensive and, as one would expect, for the most part factually accurate and up to date.[1] Ehrenberg gives as much space to intellectual and artistic developments as he does to constitutional, political, and military history. Except when it comes to art and architecture, one senses that Ehrenberg has read, reacted to, and reflected on independently all that he writes about. One rather regrets, therefore, that the text is studded with what the author feels are the memorable phrases of other contemporary scholars, all dutifully attributed. It seems that, for such a general book and after so much original work of his own, Ehrenberg has decided to tone down his own bolder assertions and to gather together what he has found of value in his wide reading. The result inevitably is safe, but all too often banal, perhaps not too serious a fault for a book of this scope.

Ehrenberg's own writing is usually clear and sometimes eloquent, but he has not been well served editorially. There are far too many errors; those I have noticed will be communicated to the publishers and need not take up space in this Journal. Editors should also have helped to remove unclear passages which will puzzle the uninitiated reader and at times seem to convey false information.[2] These are more serious flaws for such a book.

[1] But the Athenian defeat at Halieis was *not* in a naval battle (p. 210); see Thuc., I, 105, 1. And surely iron cast into the sea at the founding of what we call the Delian League (*Ath. Pol.*, 23, 5) shows that treaties of more than thirty years duration were conceivable before 446 B. C. (*contra*, p. 221).

[2] Awkwardness of expression may account for the apparent assertion that there were no Spartan victors at Olympia after the mid-sixth century (p. 43) and that slaves manned ships for Athens (p. 217)—not at least as rowers, except at Arginusae. It is not Antiphon's "attitude" (p. 311) that Thucydides admired at VIII, 68, 1. The translation of φιλεῖν as "love" in the Athenian settlement with Colophon (*I.G.*, I², 14-15, now most conveniently in R. Meiggs—D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 47, line 47) has the wrong implications for what is only the declaration to maintain the familiar φιλία towards another city (p. 224).

Surprisingly it is Ehrenberg's narrative of military history that comes out most effectively, whereas his constitutional discussions tend to be obscure. One suspects that Ehrenberg's great awareness of the complexities of the latter inhibit him from writing a clear, straightforward account while the descriptions of wars and battles are a fresher venture to which he brings the advantage of not being overburdened with topographic expertise.[3] Ehrenberg's discussion of the historians is also rewarding. He is intelligently critical as well as appreciative of Herodotus and is an unabashed enthusiast of Thucydides. (Lack of scepticism of Thucydides' attitudes towards Athens and the empire goes with another characteristic of his approach, to be considered shortly.) Above all, Ehrenberg is never doctrinaire. He is eclectic in the Persian War documents he will accept and the degree to which he will accept any one, as he is in finding historical value in the speeches of Thucydides. I cannot always agree with his choices but here I am prepared to believe the forfeit of strict consistency to sensibility brings us closer to the truth. Another decided virtue of the book is the conscientious, tolerant, but not uncritical bibliography to be found in the footnotes. Though one can at times quarrel with Ehrenberg's choices, and there are a few thin spots, his guidance will prove extremely useful.

Ehrenberg remarks, à propos of his disagreement with Eduard Meyer's views on the generation of the Persian Wars, that they belonged to two very different generations (p. 424, n. 113). Much of this reviewer's dissatisfaction with Ehrenberg's book may equally be due to a "generation gap." Thus Ehrenberg does not allude to the post-war studies on Aeschylus and Sophocles, and in any case would not, I think, much care for them. For Ehrenberg, Aeschylus remains "a tormented religious genius" (p. 203) for whom Zeus is "the object of a fervent faith in divine wisdom and justice" (p. 183). Sophocles' "warm humanity went together with a passionate belief in the greatness of the gods" (p. 245). A taste for personal biography in literature which I find unfortunate ("in the months between Salamis and Plataea Pindar must have become very sad and almost desperate," p. 176) can be seriously misleading about the nature of our knowledge when it comes to history. Solon is "the only possible candidate for the role of mediator" (p. 60); Peisistratus is "deeply religious, even with a tendency towards mysticism" (p. 81); the story of the false Athena is rejected, except that it is made to yield a glimpse of Peisistratus' close relation to the goddess. Themistocles' "last years must have been a struggle between self-reliance and self-torment" (p. 193).[4] We are

[3] To be sure this insouciance rather trips him up in the Syracusan campaign, and there are a few geographical slips. Mt. Kotroni is mislabelled Pentelicum in Map 6, p. 132, and the location of the Persian ships near (on the map, west of) the mouth of the Charadra is unconvincing and gives no warning on the uncertainty of the course of the stream in antiquity. The Greek fleet off the Isthmus of Corinth would not have been "off the Argive Coast" (p. 157). The Ennea Hodoi were not "at the mouth of the Strymon" (p. 196). But these are trivial.

[4] For the speculative and excessive personal treatment of Themistocles and the politics of the early fifth century (Ehrenberg is certainly not

reminded that Herodotus mentions Pericles only once (VI, 131, Agariste's dream of giving birth to a lion), but Ehrenberg still can write that "If there was respect, and even awe, in Herodotus' attitude toward Pericles, there was neither affection nor political support" (pp. 232-3). This approach, to my mind, vitiates the central chapter on the age of Pericles where much is repeated from the author's *Sophocles and Pericles*, and leads to unsatisfactory treatments of both Athenian democracy and Athenian imperialism.[5] Ehrenberg's views of Pericles' relation to the democracy and in particular of his tenure of the generalship and supposed manipulation of the elections ring false. For better or worse, Ehrenberg is fundamentally less interested in the workings of political and social systems than in personalities and ideas. Furthermore, as is true of many classicists of all generations, a natural, perhaps unconscious conservatism leads to easy acceptance of Thucydides' dislike of "radical democracy" (aristocrats, experienced in politics, were needed until the middle class was ready to assume responsibility, and so forth). De Ste. Croix's querying of the usual assumptions made about the empire is mentioned with respect, but I do not think that its implications are perceived.

Two lesser debits, misunderstanding of classical Greek religion (as it seems to me) and of the evidence of archaeology (Ehrenberg knows R. M. Cook's warnings on drawing conclusions from the trade in fine pottery, but constantly does so) may be set against what is clearly on the credit side: the good treatment of philosophy and the sophistic movement, though here too I would look more for social and political reasons, rather than the primarily intellectual, for the trend away from the active life.

The book's virtues are clear, while any assessment of its faults depends to a large degree on what one expects beyond the essentials. This reviewer is grateful for its existence, will assign its use, and yet admits to a serious unhappiness with it. Published in the author's seventy-fifth year the book is essentially retrospective. There are no rash new theories (indeed there is much retraction and modification of the author's earlier views)[6] but there are also few new insights—a synthesis, then, which reveals both the strength and the weakness of a scholar who has always, to his credit, grappled with major issues.

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alone here), there is now the valuable corrective by Frank Frost, "Themistocles' Place in Athenian Politics," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, I (1968), pp. 105-24.

[5] Ehrenberg has given up earlier confidence in a chronology of Cleisthenes' reforms (p. 402, n. 34) but still knows more about him (p. 87) than I can believe. How do we know that Thucydides, the historian, kept out of politics even before his exile. (p. 360)? We know nothing, not even that Aeschylus was "not involved on one side or the other of the political strife" (p. 207). In the absence of evidence, denial is no more justified than attribution of political partisanship and activity.

[6] Cf. p. 380, n. 2; p. 402, n. 28; p. 423, n. 106.

P. PARSONS, J. REA, E. G. TURNER with Contributions by L. INGRAMS and A. ŚWIDEREK. The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume XXXIII, Edited with Translations and Notes. London, Published for the British Academy by the Egypt Exploration Society, 1968. Pp. xii + 138; 8 pls. (*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, No. 48.)

The prefaces to volumes of this series are probably read by few of the persons who use them. In this case, however, the preface deserves attention. It contains the announcement that, while "the Egypt Exploration Society will continue to bear the cost of and take scholarly responsibility for Publication," "in 1966 the British Academy accepted as one of its major research projects the task of cataloguing and preparing for publication the unedited Greek and Latin papyri in the Oxyrhynchus collection." Although some of the details of this coöperation are spelled out in the preface, the importance of the announcement can only be fully appreciated if one realizes that there are probably as many Oxyrhynchus papyri left to be published as have already been done. Cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Princeton, 1968), p. 45.

The meat of this volume is Menander. The first five numbers are Menander texts and account for 65 pages. No. 2654 is from a first century roll and preserves parts of three consecutive columns of what is identified as Menander's *Karchedonios* by a coincidence of lines 7-8 with fr. 228 Körte. In the one passage of which much can be made the Carthaginian proudly proclaims himself the grandson of Hamilcar, a general. In the light of what can be made of the situation in the play Turner assesses the possibility of the play being the original of Plautus' *Poenulus* and finds the indications negative. A curious footnote reveals that fr. 7 ? is *P. Oxy.*, 866, which has long been in the collection of Muhlenberg College. It contains the letters]αρχηδονιο[as about one sixth of its total text and was originally thought to be prose. Now it is suggested that the scrap may not only belong to the play but also to the same manuscript. The palaeographical description of 2654 is surprising in that it distinguishes two hands, one of which is supposed to be responsible for an isolated line in two different places, a circumstance which is not only difficult to explain but hard to believe.

2655 gives us parts of about 30 lines from a second century copy of Menander's *Kolax* which is identified by a tenuous but very real join with *P. Oxy.*, 409.

2656 however is the pièce de résistance. It is a republication of the fragments of Menander's *Misoumenos* originally published as *B. I. C. S.*, Supplement 17. The edition is a fine piece of work and evokes admiration for the masterful way a complicated piece of transmission, involving *P. Oxy.*, 1013 and 1605 plus Berlin texts 13281 and 13932, is handled. Here we have some 350 lines including the end of the play, which give a fair idea of the plot of the whole, something comparable to the recently published Bodmer texts of the *Samia* and the *Aspis*. (Alas, that after so many years, during part of which copies of these two plays have circulated *sub rosa*, the official publication should be a documentary transcription!) One

may be permitted perhaps to find some fault with the presentation of the papyrus. It seems hardly adequate for this series to be referred, as we are, to another publication for a description of the papyrus and to be offered no photographic reproductions of such an important text. Fresh transcripts by C. Austin of the two Berlin pieces are here presented. Some explanation of the mystery of these two pieces would surely not have been amiss. *P. Berlin,* 13932 was published by Schubart in *Ber. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-hist. Kl.*, XCVII, 5 (1950). Then it was reported by Thierfelder in his addendum to Volume II of the 1953 Teubner edition of Menander, p. 284, that this piece and 13281 were both destroyed during World War II. Then in 1965, in his *New Fragments of the Misoumenos*, Turner said that he understood that the two pieces had survived the stresses of the war. Now it appears that they have indeed done so. Just to keep the record straight an inadvertency might also be noted. On page 15, in speaking of the two Berlin pieces, they are twice referred to as "both papyri." The fact is that 13932 is a parchment and is properly so called on page 19.

2657 may come as something of a surprise, as it seems to have done to the editor, if one can imagine an editor of this series being surprised at anything that comes out of his store. It is part of a third century copy of the *Misoumenos* containing parts of some 92 additional lines from near the beginning of the play.

2658 is a second century piece containing parts of some 40 lines of what is clearly New Comedy but not so clearly Menander.

2659 is unusual and of unusual interest, at least to this reviewer. It is of the second century and contains part of a list of comic poets and their plays, both in first-letter alphabetic order. The list includes plays of Ameipsias and the names, either preserved or certainly restorable, of Apollonius, Apollophanes, Araros, Aristophanes, Archippus, Autocrates, Demetrius, Diocles, Deinolochus, and Epicharmus plus a partial listing of the plays of each. Apollonius is not definitely known as a comic poet otherwise. The list is not one of Attic comic poets, as the inclusion of the last two names indicates, and it is probably intended to include only Old Comedy. It is clearly a selective list, omitting many names of known poets and of known plays, and yet it contains new titles. The list for Aristophanes is split between two fragments and it is impossible to tell exactly how much has been lost between the two, not enough, however, to account for the known plays in the early part of the alphabet. It can definitely be said that *Lemniai, Nesoi, Pelargoi, Ploutos β'*, and *Tagenistai* of the Ambrosian-Vatican list are omitted.

2660 is part of a Latin word list written in Greek characters of the first or second century. The first part of the list contains the names of vegetables and the second is headed δηπισκιβους. 2660 (a) is described as a scrap of a similar list and is here published in part. Reference is made to similar lists in *C. G. L.*, III.

2661 is a fragment of a late third century *gnomologium* consisting of parts of 23 lines of iambic verse, eight of which are to be found in Jäkel's Teubner *Menandri Sententiae,* one is from Philemon and one from Euripides, while the remainder are unidentified.

Plato accounts for both extant classical texts (2662 and 2663).

They are small fragments of the *Meno* and *Cratylus*, neither of which dialogues has previously been represented on papyrus.

Of official and private documents and letters nineteen (2664-2682) are here published. Among the documents I single out 2673 as being of more general interest. It is dated 5 February A. D. 304 and is a declaration by a presumably Christian or previously Christian lector (ἀναγνωστής) who was apparently illiterate in Greek. This declaration is to the effect that his former church in the village of Chysis has no possessions of any kind "excepting only the bronze gate which was found and delivered to the logistes to be carried down to the most glorious Alexandria." Rea comments: "The removal of the gate may indicate that the church was dismantled as ordered by the first edict [of Diocletian] of 303. It is doubtful whether we should believe that this village church was extremely poor or suspect that the nil return was part of the Christian resistance, which Eusebius says was strongest in Egypt and the Thebaid." The lector's negative statement is of special interest as suggesting what kind of property such a church might have had. He declares that the "church had neither gold nor silver nor money nor clothes (vestments?) nor beasts nor slaves nor lands nor property either from grants or bequests." The declaration survives in three copies which are held together by a knotted strip of papyrus passed through a small slit in the upper left-hand margin of all three copies, a method which the editor remarks has not come to his notice before.

As a matter of human interest I quote the complete translation of number 2678. "Dioscorous invites you to dine at the wedding of her son on the 14th of Mesore in the temple of Sabazius from the ninth hour. Farewell."

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K. J. DOVER. Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968. Pp. x + 200. $6.50. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XXXIX.)

Dover's Sather Lectures concern the authenticity of speeches attributed to Lysias. Instead of weighing them speech by speech, as has usually been done, he approaches the corpus as a whole and evaluates the criteria of authenticity. The results are a remarkable thesis about the composition and publication of Greek judicial oratory.

The complicated and difficult first chapter is concerned with the formation of what Dover calls the *corpusculum*, Lysias III-XXXI as found together in Palatinus 88, which he thinks is made up of some complete divisions of a larger corpus substantially identifiable with the list of speeches in the catalogue of Callimachus. I would take exception to the attempt to identify the extant *Trapeziticus* of Isocrates with a speech summarized in *Oxy. Pap.*, 2537 as the *Trape-*

ziticus of Lysias (pp. 14-15). Surely Lysias composed another speech in the same suit. Secondly, the concluding statement of the chapter goes slightly beyond what Dover has so far shown: "When we ask ourselves whether or not Lysias wrote any given speech of those ascribed to him, its presence in, or absence from, the Palatinus has not the slightest relevance." At this point the critical significance of Callimachus' listing of a speech has not yet been considered, and that is apparently the real basis of the contents of the Palatinus. All in all, the distinction between chapters I and II is an artificial one and breaks the logical beauty of the argument.

Authenticity of speeches attributed to Lysias might be tested on chronological, ideological, and artistic grounds, and consideration of these follows in chapters III-VII. Each in turn is found wanting. The chronology of Lysias' career has long been vexed. Dover's conclusion is that Lysias was born about 445 B. C., that he went to Thurii about 430 and returned to Athens about 420. His activity as a speech writer began sometime before 403, and he was still alive around 380. The return to Athens around 420 is the most novel, and most crucial, feature of this hypothesis, but it works out very well and deserves respect. If Dover's chronology is correct no extant speech can be rejected on the ground that it is too early or too late, and of other speeches of which we hear only the two for Iphicrates are too late.

Nor do Lysias' ideological or political associations make it possible to judge the authenticity of the speeches. Dover admirably surveys the nature of political affiliation in Athens, the constant changes of alignment, especially in the last years of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century, and, what is most important of all, the fact that the speeches were written to win lawsuits, not to express opinions. They tell us more about public opinion than about Lysias' views.

The chapters on artistic criteria are filled with interesting details, though difficult to read since Dover does not very clearly explain what he is trying to do and includes some material which seems distracting. Apparently the intention is to show that differences of rhetorical genre and Lysias' skill at presenting ethos make it impossible to use XII, the one speech Dover assumes to be genuine, as the norm by which to judge others.

In the chapters on style Dover attempts two kinds of analysis. "Crude Stylometry" is illustrated by a statistical study of the frequency of the article, connectives, participles, and aorists in Lysias XII and XIII, Aeschines II and III, and Demosthenes XVIII and XIX. The results seem to show that no criterion on authorship is revealed, and what pattern is seen may be related to the difference in date. My own check of the usage of the article in Andocides I seems to confirm Dover's view.

Chapter VII, "Refined Stylometry," studies the vocabulary and word order of the speeches in the corpus in comparison with XII. No attempt is made here to relate either feature to ethos (though later Dover seems to claim this has been done, cf. p. 194, 9a). It would have been interesting to have had the non-forensic words listed by section numbers rather than parts of speech so that one could see how they cluster within individual speeches. Dover largely allows the reader to draw his own conclusions about authenticity

from the tables given. In most cases the evidence seems inconclusive.

For the general student the most interesting chapters will be VIII, "Client and Consultant," and IX, "Orator, Rhetoricians, and Reader," which set forth Dover's view of Lysias' activities and his major thesis, that the variations among the speeches of the corpus result from the fact that many, perhaps the majority, were his work to some degree but not wholly. Sometimes Lysias composed an entire speech which the litigant memorized, sometimes he wrote portions or suggested the phrasing, or the words, or the arguments. The actual situation would vary with the circumstances. Our texts of the speeches have been further influenced by revisions after delivery. Dover does not draw many specific conclusions about particular speeches, but suggests that XXIII shows signs of having been put into circulation by a client and XIX by a speechwriter, or "consultant" as he calls him. He is also able to make a rather good case that Diodorus, the client, wrote the central part of Demosthenes XXIV.

As stated and supported the thesis seems very probable and one wonders why it has not been advanced in these sweeping terms before. Certain objections linger in the mind. First of all, the usual Greek word to describe Lysias' activity is not "consultant," as Dover might like us to believe but speechwriter (λογογράφος), which suggests some degree of artistic integrity. This is borne out by a few passages (cited by Dover, p. 150) which seem to make a sharp distinction between "writer" and "adviser." Such a distinction is clear enough later on. At Rome, for example, the functions of the jurisconsult, the pleader, and the client are regarded as separate, though sometimes combined in a particular individual. The impression which Lysias left with posterity (and perhaps with Plato) was not that of a legal adviser, but a literary artist. The cases of Antiphon or Isaeus or Demosthenes are slightly different in this respect. Second, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other critics interested in the problem of ascription seem totally oblivious of the situation which Dover describes, although as he points out himself, a number of similarities were common in Roman times. If conditions of publications were as Dover describes them, it is not really enough to say that we know more about the fourth century than Dionysius did. Third, the client or his family perhaps occasionally had some reason for preserving or circulating a speech, but in most minor private suits the advantages accrued chiefly to the speechwriter. *Cui bono?* It was the speech writer who sought clients and reputation. Speeches in the corpus of Lysias doubtless were affected as Dover suggests, and demonstration of the authenticity of a particular speech usually is virtually impossible. But it does not follow that the practical situation is so uncertain in the case of Lysias' best speeches. We can still believe that the corpus was primarily made up of works given his artistic finish.

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Tirteo. Introduzione, testo critico, testimonianze e commento. Edited by CARLO PRATO. Rome, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1968. Pp. ix + 102* + 153. L. 4,000. (*Lyricorum Graecorum Quae Exstant*, 3.)

As far as I am aware, Prato's is the first full-length book devoted solely to Tyrtaeus. This is a fine honour done to the meagre 200 or so lines which have survived, although I remain a little uneasy about book-length editions of ancient authors who are represented only by a handful of fragments. One obvious danger, which Prato has not altogether avoided, is that commentary may be so inflated that it almost smothers the living line. Undeniably, however, there is value in Prato's kind of thoroughness. Like his predecessors on Anacreon (Gentili) and Archilochus (Tarditi) he answers the blurb's promise that the *Edizioni dell' Ateneo* series will be to a rare degree complete. Here the format is: Preface (i-ix), Introduction (1*-80*), Bibliography (81*-102*), Testimonia (1-19), Text (23-44), Indices (47-58), Commentary (61-153). The Introduction-cum-Commentary totals more than 170 pages, and includes amid its solid scholarship a fair amount of wholly personal conjecture, especially in the Introduction. By the time one reaches the text itself he has breathed a richly partisan air. But the problems of the Tyrtaean corpus are such that we can sympathise with the editor who commits himself to commentary of any kind, given the lack of agreement that Tyrtaeus ever lived or, even if he did, that the fragments ascribed to him are, wholly or in part, authentic.

To Prato's credit, his blend of fact and interpretation is based on thorough and careful research, and he draws the lines of the long, sustained, and sometimes polemical debate on the "Tyrtaean question" with admirable clarity. At the same time, he leaves us in no doubt about his own persuasion. Tutored by Wilamowitz, who affirmed the historicity and essential authenticity of Tyrtaeus, and by Jaeger, whose study of *aretê* created an ethical perspective within which Tyrtaeus' archaic values (especially in D9) seem clearly discernible, Prato accepts the ancient traditions as fundamentally reliable. He regards the contradictions, for example those relating to Tyrtaeus' place of origin, as of small matter, traceable to late fictions. Prato's Tyrtaeus flourished during the Second Messenian War (between 640 and 620 B. C.), was Spartan born and bred—the sense of community in his poetry cannot otherwise be explained—, and derived his authority from his *sophia* rather than from any official political or military status. Moot points, these, and doomed to remain so. Prato is optimistic enough to believe that today the Tyrtaean question is "closed," apart from minor doubts like the romantic fictions clustered about the folk-hero Aristomenes in the history of Messenia. He pins his faith largely on the Berlin papyrus (D1, P10), with its apparently genuine references to archaic Sparta. About Tyrtaeus' credentials as a thinker and merits as a poet Prato is perhaps a little flattering. He speaks of the "profound sense of Tyrtaean morality" (p. 24*), his "defence of liberty" (p. 68*; cf. 24*) and creation of "a civic ideal for the Greek states of the next century" (p. 24*). It is always difficult to moralise from a distance, but one might doubt whether the *Spartan* civic ideal which entrenched itself after victory over an enslaved people was truly

more than a grotesquerie. Consensus is not likely. Yet the intent of D3b (Plutarch's version of Apollo's oracular injunction) seems to be to scotch incipient rebellion against the kings' authority, implicitly reducing the people's rights to mere acclamation. (The problem of 3Da, the Diodorean version of the oracle, and of the possible relation between Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia* and the *Rhetra* is another question: see A. Andrewes, *C. Q.*, XXXII [1958], pp. 89-102.)

The text itself, squeezed between the massive blocks of commentary, deserves to become the standard reference for Trytaeus. Its most eminent predecessor, Diehl's edition (Bergk being now largely supplanted), has inadequacies, being vitiated by an incomplete *apparatus criticus* and by some ill-considered addenda. The invaluable Berlin papyrus is a particular beneficiary of Prato's faithful and conservative reproduction of the evidence. Diehl in his third edition (the earlier editions are more honest) introduces arbitrary and unacknowledged "corrections" to the MS: λογῆσαι for λογήσει at 17, and οἱ γὰρ πάλλομεν for οἷς ἐμπάλλομεν [= οἳ συμπάλλομεν?] at 18. Also Diehl's welding of frs. 1 and 2, and 1 and 3, after Ibscher, looks very shaky. The only lines resurrected in entirety from the synthesis of 1 and 2 (D15 and 28), for example, require too much supplement for comfort. Elsewhere Prato improves Diehl's *apparatus* at many points and deals more convincingly, or at least more lucidly, with the problems of authenticity and the relationships of fragments. If one is prepared to accept authenticity at all, the first "problem" fragment is D3a, the Diodorean version of Apollo's advice to the Spartan kings. Prato, agreeing substantially with Hammond and others, rejects these lines as spurious for their clumsy overload of conventional epithets at the start and for their inappropriate sentiment toward the close, and relegates them to the fag-end of his text. One day they may find an appropriate home in *Fragmenta Adespota*. Prato leaves Plutarch's shorter version as a genuine part of the *Eunomia* (the Suda's *Politeia*). The three fragments amalgamated by Bergk and retained as one unit by Diehl (4) Prato separates again with, if not overwhelming logic, at least justifiable caution. Diehl 6 and 7, juxtaposed as one poem in Lycurgus, are re-separated for reasons accumulated since Heinrich (1821). The authenticity of D9 is defended à la Jaeger, for whose arguments on archaic *aretê* this poem was a central pillar. Prato includes some useful, if thin, comments on archaic priamel structure and ring-form to bolster his view of the poem's antiquity.

Throughout the history of Tyrtaean scholarship strength of conviction has never quite been matched by weight of evidence. Prato's arguments are not uniformly sound throughout, and objectivity seems sometimes more desired than attained. But he does lay bare the bones of a problem before clothing them in theory, and this is a gain. For the moment the Tyrtaean unitarians outnumber the analysts, but the honest caution of Prato's text should command respect in both camps.

The virtues of the book are many, not least the text itself, the learned notes, and the complete *Librorum Conspectus*. The weaknesses include prolixity where Introduction and Commentary duplicate arguments, and the unjustified dogmatism on which critical conclusions are sometimes erected ("Tyrtaeus wrote because . . .").

Errors seem very few. I spotted only 8, 8 wrongly cited for 8, 7 on p. 71*, and 8, 19 wrongly cited for, one presumes, 9, 19 on p. 72*. All in all, an admirable all-purpose edition and, apart from the minor irritation of the eccentric page-numbering, a credit to the publishers.

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HENRY C. BOREN. The Gracchi. New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1968. Pp. 146. Price not stated. (*Twayne's Rulers and Statesmen of the World Series—TROW* 9.)

Professor Boren is well known to students of the Gracchan age not only for his valuable paper in *A. H. R.*, LXIII (1957/58), pp. 890-902 ("The Urban Side of the Gracchan Economic Crisis"), but also for his studies of Livius Drusus (*C. J.*, LII [1956/57], pp. 27-36) and of Ti. Gracchus' opponents (*A. J. P.*, LXXXII [1961], pp. 358-69). Naturally, many of his earlier views are here stated anew (although his ideas on 123/2 B. C. have changed considerably), but are much expanded and placed in their proper contexts.

Beginning with Rome's rise to power in the Mediterranean (chapter 1), the author very capably surveys all of the by now familiar proximate and remote causes of the acute political, social, economic and military crisis which confronted Rome in the 130's and 120's B. C. Boren plays down the rural crisis more than is usual,[1] but the peasants who migrated to Rome are still very much present. Precisely who migrated seems still to need further examination. E. g., there are two types of peasants who have been found to have migrated to modern Cairo, "bright youths who migrate in search of education or wider opportunities," and, numerically much more significant, those who "are drawn primarily from the have-nots . . . (who) are as much driven from the village by dearth of land and opportunity as they are attracted to the city."[2] Is this true of Rome in the last age of the Republic?

In a volume which has evidently been written for the beginning student or for the layman in general, Boren very wisely leaves little unexplained. The education of a Roman noble, the nature of Roman politics, the meaning and function of a *contio*, to name a few examples, are clearly and succinctly explained. Where there are problems, whether in variant sources or in irreconcilable modern interpretations, the reader is told what these are and what some of

[1] For a full discussion, see now Alvin Bernstein, *The Rural and Agrarian Crisis to 133 B.C. in Ancient Rome* (dissertation, Cornell University, 1969).

[2] J. Abu-Lughod, "Migrant Adjustment to City Life: the Egyptian Case," *Peasant Society*, ed. by J. M. Potter, *et al.* (Boston, 1967), p. 386. Several other papers in this volume will be of interest to students of ancient history, especially Barbara Ward, "Cash or Credit Crops?," pp. 135-51, and G. Sjoberg, "The Preindustrial City," pp. 15-24.

the possibilities (including a number of original contributions) may be; dogmatism is rare. (However, to cite only two instances, the reader should be given more information about the objections to Gaius' proposed *lex de confusione suffragiorum* which Boren accepts (p. 114); Lucilius' famous *deficit alma Ceres* . . . should be dated to later than 133 [p. 44].)

The interpretive narrations of the tribunates of each of the Gracchi are written with special care and clarity; it is no surprise to read on the dustjacket that the author used to be a newspaper reporter. His style may occasionally be a bit choppy for some tastes, but the reader is never in doubt about the sequence and interrelationships of events. The story of Tiberius' tribunate is told in twenty-seven pages (43-70); the period from Gaius' election in 124 (Boren does not mention that he came in fourth) to his murder is told in thirty-five pages (89-124)—which is surprising considering the firmer ground which the sources afford the historian of these years.[3] No two humans will ever agree on everything connected with the Gracchi, and a short review is not the place to probe, or even to list, all of the points on which disagreement is possible or inevitable. But I would like to raise one question. Boren independently reached much the same conclusions as P. A. Brunt regarding the *equites*,[4] i. e., that "they were rural minded landowners whose system of values corresponded closely to those of the senatorial families" (p. 109). No one can deny that the *equites* invested in land, but I am not yet prepared to dissociate them from "business." In 1481, Cristoforo Landino generalized that "sempre fu havuto in prezo in ogni città la mercatura, pure che sia exercitata con degnità." "Con degnità" is decisive; the Romans' attitudes must be examined in the light not only of Cic., *Off.*, I, 151 and similar texts. but also of *Parad. Stoic.*, 46: "(ei) qui honeste (!) rem quaerunt mercaturis faciendis, operis dandis, publicis sumendis . . ." (see also the fragment of *Cornel.* quoted in *Orat.*, 232).

Boren concludes with a bibliography which is brief (eighty items), but which contains most of the works necessary for further research; an appendix of translated sources would have been of inestimable value to the layman. Still, however, specialist and layman alike are well served by this volume; the former by having Professor Boren's views on controversial matters, the latter by having an extremely complicated period of history presented with a clarity that is all too rare.

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[3] Cf. E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism* (Pretoria, 1967), p. 41: "Tiberius is, to us, a dim figure, seen through the distorting mirror of his enemies' propaganda on the one hand and his brother's on the other. His plans and motives are hardly worth investigating."

[4] P. A. Brunt, "The *Equites* in the Late Republic," *Trade and Politics in the Ancient World* (Paris, 1965), pp. 117-49. See also, T. R. S. Broughton, "Comment," *ibid.*, pp. 150-62; C. Nicolet, *L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine (314-43 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1966); P. A. Brunt, "Les *Equites* romains à la fin de la République," *Annales (Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations)*, XXII (1967), pp. 1090-8.

ERIK WISTRAND. Sallust on Judicial Murders in Rome: A Philological and Historical Study. Göteborg, 1968. Pp. 88. Paper, Sw. Kr. 12. (*Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis. Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, XXIV.)

Wistrand's title rather misleads because the principal discussion centers on the Sallustian authenticity of the Second Epistle attributed to the historian. On the basis of a close examination of *Epistula*, II, 2, 3-4, 3 and its rhetorical analogues Wistrand argues for Sallust's authorship and a date of composition in the forepart of 51 B. C.

Latin writers frequently applied inflated metaphors to political exile. Relying on G. Carlsson's *Eine Denkschrift an Caesar über den Staat* (Lund, 1936), Wistrand subjects the epistulary passage and some excerpts from Cicero to an analysis of terms denoting death and murder that referred to exile. Wistrand's "judicial murders" were no more than banishments laden with all the hyperbole at the writers' disposal. There can be no doubt on this interpretation of the phrases. Again following Carlsson, Wistrand emphasizes how exile could have been considered death and murder by reference to the legal *capitis deminutio*. While it cannot be denied that loss of *caput* might have suggested the metaphors of death, some of the phrases must be understood equally in a ritual context. Here belong Sallust's (if it is Sallust) *sicutei hostiae mactati sunt* and Cicero's *victima* and *foedus meo sanguine ictum*. Wistrand nowhere discusses the implication of the religious terms nor seems to recognize them as such. Besides authorities whom he considers contemporary to the Epistle's composition, Wistrand also adduces subsequent authors' funereal treatment and equations of exile. In the process he offers us a fresh reason for accepting the MSS reading *sepulcra* in the much discussed couplet of Propertius, IV, 1, 87-8. In this section one misses a reference to that touching piece, the so-called Laudatio Turiae, col. 2, lines 51-3.

Next Wistrand turns to the "historical issues" before Sallust wrote the Epistle. Patiently he argues for Sallust's authorship on the grounds that in 51 B. C. the Pompeian and Optimate resort to political vengeance through jury trials in 52 was vivid and urgent in Sallust's mind, whereas a later rhetorician or pamphleteer would have paid little heed to matters which would have had much less consequence in the frightful period of civil war and its aftermath. Here, Wistrand's failure to mention a major Caesarian statement on such trials (*Bellum Civile*, I, 4, 3) is remarkable.

After a brief restatement of his reasons for a date of composition in 51, Wistrand discusses Sallust's purpose in publishing the Epistle. By way of conclusion, he presents detailed arguments against certain arguments against Sallustian authorship.

Wistrand handles well all the material he chooses to handle. He does not enter into such larger problems as the character of the Epistle. Whether it was an open letter or a broadside is left substantially untouched. The value of the work lies in its philological demonstration of the extent to which rhetoric so permeated the history of real historical events that the unwary reader may

credit the Roman politicians with more carnage than they actually wrought. The battle over Sallustian authorship will surely not abate upon reading this work. Of course, on both sides the premiss of debate is the belief in the importance of the Author's identity. When and why both letters were written are more substantive objects of inquiry. The question of the Author's historical veracity is hardly helped by identifying him. C. Sallustius Crispus shared with his contemporaries a goodly capacity for distortion and exaggeration.

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JONATHAN A. GOLDSTEIN. The Letters of Demosthenes. New York, Columbia University Press, 1968. Pp. xii + 320. $12.00.

Much of the Demosthenic corpus, except for the Public Orations, has received only sporadic and piecemeal attention. Here, at last, is a comprehensive treatment of the Letters that will remain the definitive work for years to come. In an attempt to determine the authenticity of Epp. 1-4 (Epp. 5 and 6 are discussed briefly in an appendix) and to extract from them all possible historical information, the author scrutinizes in elaborate detail the transmission of the text, style, historical background, and literary form. Also provided are a new translation, a commentary, and nine appendices. The penetrating examination of textual transmission reveals, mainly on the basis of stichometric notations, that the manuscript tradition of the Letters must date back to the middle of the third century B. C. Stylistically the Letters conform to Demosthenes' vocabulary, his use of particles, and his avoidance of hiatus and breves. Professor Goldstein has shown that the Letters reflect their historical background best if we suppose that Ep. 2 followed, rather than preceded, Ep. 3. Alleged historical errors are not so much explained away as neutralized in force. Thus, what evidence there is supports the view that Philocles was convicted of bribery but also that he was elected *kosmetes* for the following year. Difficulties over the matter of Demosthenes' imprisonment and fine derive from uncertainty about the finer points in Athenian legal procedure but do not prove that the Letters are in error over chronology. That Demosthenes is represented as being at the temple of Poseidon in Calauria does not have to be construed as a *vaticinium ex eventu*; the orator had ample reason to fear for his safety. Echoes in the Letters (especially in Ep. 4) from other Demosthenic orations are not sufficiently verbatim to indicate a forger's pastiche. Indeed, in many instances they betray nuances that can be explained by a changed political situation such as existed at the time the Letters are alleged to have been written. The rest of the historical analysis is a succession of cogently argued *probabilia* in favor of the Letters' historicity. The rhetorical analysis, which begins with an examination of the ancient theory of the forms of apology and polemic,

demonstrates that the most natural form for apology and polemic, real or fictitious, was the forensic genus, whereas the Letters, because of the exigencies of Demosthenes' situation in exile, conform to the apologetic *demegoria*. The translations of Epp. 1-4 are accurate and eminently readable. The commentary provides not only an interpretative guide but also answers most of the specific minor objections to style and historicity raised by previous scholars. The work is equipped with a generous bibliography and three indices.

It is all but impossible to fault this book on major premises. The case for the authenticity of Epp. 1-4, as advanced by Goldstein, appears unassailable even though the hard bedrock of primary evidence is still absent. A few minor criticisms may be in order. Before proceeding to the rhetorical analysis the author cautions against an overly rigid application of rhetorical schemata. This is sound advice, since, in the first place, the rhetoricians of Demosthenes' time paid scant attention to the form of *litterae negotiales* and, secondly, Demosthenic studies provide instances (e.g., Spengel, Gilbert, and Slameczka regarding *On the Fraudulent Embassy*) where scholars have failed to reach consensus on the rhetorical scheme of a given speech. Once into the analysis, however, the author tends to ignore his own strictures about rigid schematization, especially in the analyses of Epp. 3, 2 and 1 where admittedly the scheme of a *demegoria* appears to be closely followed. The case for the authenticity of Ep. 4 is consequently weakened by its manifestly anomalous literary form; and, although the author finds justification for it under Anaximenes' category of the "Exposé" (a well-known form of the *demegoria*?), he remains somewhat hesitant about its authenticity. The pitfalls of identifying too closely theory and practice are many; however, we may reasonably assume that Demosthenes would exhibit in his Letters a virtuoso's familiarity with the elements of rhetoric, which were followed when convenient, disregarded or modified when they were not. If he had determined that the occasion demanded a strong rebuttal of Theramenes' slander, he would hardly have allowed his purposes to be frustrated or even diluted by rhetorical convention. Arguments from style, by themselves, rarely establish authorship; however, the avoidance of more than two successive breves, a characteristic of Demosthenes' style formulated by Blass, is a valid criterion of authenticity. The method of B. Gaya Nuño, on the other hand, has not won universal acceptance (cf. Foerstel, *I. G. Forsch.*, LXVI [1961], pp. 314-18), and further testing and a more precise formulation are necessary before it can be applied. There are at least sixteen typographical errors, only one of which needs to be corrected here: p. 295, read "Blass, 'Unechte Briefe,' *Rh. Mus.*, LIV [instead of L]." Notice of a recent study supporting the authenticity of Ep. 3 (L. Braccesi, *Rend. Linc.*, XXI [1966], pp. 35-45) was not available before Goldstein's book had gone to press.

The prodigious scholarship everywhere apparent in this work lends to it an importance that goes beyond the convincing defense of the authenticity of Epp. 1-4. The reader is provided not only with a wealth of detail on the historical and literary background of the Letters but also with an effective demonstration of the value of such

information in recreating an important epoch of Greek history. Classical scholars in general, as well as Demosthenes specialists, will benefit greatly from reading this book.

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GERHARD DOBESCH. Der Panhellenische Gedanke im 4. Jh. v. Chr. und der "Philippos" des Isokrates. Untersuchungen zum Korinthischen Bund, I. Vienna, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, 1968. Pp. 260 in 4°.

For the Institut für Alte Geschichte, Archäeologie und Epigraphik at Vienna the Austrian Archaeological Institute has just published a first-rate philological and historical study, notable for its general clarity and its many penetrating observations, which make an old subject seem new and exciting. An earlier book *Caesars Apotheose* by the same author, Gerhard Dobesch, appeared in 1966.

The author sketches the change in Panhellenism with its feeling for the multiplicity of Hellas. The older Panhellenism, which flourished in the period of Miltiades and Cimon, ended with the radicalizing and extremism of the polis idea. Panhellenic aspirations still existed but Athens wished to see them realized in a selfishly Athenian hegemony. After 394 B. C. no polis could fulfill these Panhellenic aspirations, and a new program which called for a renunciation of attempts to rule others came to the fore. There arose a Panhellenic public opinion, which gradually reduced the importance of the polis and forced it within a larger frame. This Panhellenic public opinion was recognized by Alexander the Great, who needed Callisthenes, and it produced publicists like Fabius Pictor, Dio of Prusa, and Aelius Aristides. It had to have literary expression, especially in the form of the sophistic Kunstrede and the Platonic dialogue.

The father of the new Panhellenic literature was apparently Gorgias; Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, Callisthenes, Aristotle reflect the new ideas, and, above all, Isocrates expresses this public opinion of educated people. In politics the *koine eirene* was one result, and later Philip, who adapted his conduct to lines suggested by Isocrates, based his new order for Greece on Panhellenism. Dobesch, however, notes the opposition of Greek thought and Greek polis politics and comments that those cities which had no history of hegemony to lose were pleased with Philip's new order.

Isocrates, the central figure of Panhellenic literature, attached even more importance to the political effect of his writings than to the artistic effect, for all that he was a man of letters. And from the political standpoint his masterpiece was the *Philippus*. Isocrates always thought in terms of foreign affairs of the Hellenes. His first fifty years (to 386) saw the collapse of foreign affairs.

Instinctively he turned away from the radical polis to the Cimonian ideal of a dual leadership and published in 380 his first great work, the *Panegyric*. Whereas Cimon expected Athens alone to head the anti-Persian wars, and expected Athens and Sparta to act separately, Isocrates wanted them to operate together in a joint hegemony. He continually adapted himself to the practical situation, and when the old powers resigned or failed, he turned to the new, but he always disallowed domination over Hellenes either by a city or by an individual. Dobesch follows from speech to speech the gradual change in attitude and insists that Isocrates constantly aimed at practical results.

The *Philippus* was written primarily to influence Philip. Already in the *Amphipolis*, which we do not have, Isocrates had drawn Philip into the area of Panhellenic affairs with a sober program, which aimed at changing Philip's attitude. The *Philippus* is a work of great clarity and simplicity; his thought, which derives not from philosophy or science but from rhetoric, crystallizes not in definitions but in concentrations, not in determinations of a juristic and logical character but in the compressed and inclusive piling up and interweaving of words with definite values and associations here won by use, not convention (p. 72). There is no *captatio benevolentiae*, no flattery, in the prooemium, where he gives a prelude to a number of his themes, an appeal to Philip's sense of great deeds and opportunities.

Dobesch refutes the charge of servility toward Philip. Throughout the *Philippus* Isocrates, who was ninety years old, addresses the young king with frankness and without mincing his words. He warns him and urges him to overcome difficulties in Hellas with *praotes* and *philanthropia*. He expresses sympathy for Philip but keeps the higher interests of Hellas and Philip in mind. No malice appears.

One of the most valuable contributions of Dobesch lies in his insistence that the *Philippus* is without precise proposals. No institutions are recommended. Isocrates offers no title, no defining or limiting of rights, duties and functions. He creates an atmosphere but makes nothing juristically clear. He seeks to change Philip's policy from one of force to one of friendship; he gives him no praise for the past but a task for the future, reconciliation of the Hellenes and war against Persia. Dobesch argues that Isocrates did not expect Philip to be altruistic.

Philip the Heraclid is regarded as a Hellene, and Philip the Hellene had to be separated from the non-Hellenic Macedonians. Dobesch follows Skard in his estimate of the value of recognition as an εὐεργέτης of the Hellenes. This leads to εὔνοια and real power.

All Hellas was Philip's fatherland, and he was called to carry out as sole *hegemon* the Panhellenic program by means of deeds which would be his. Individual though he was, he in his person represented the Hellenes, who would constitute a unity in themselves. Public opinion, from which Isocrates was never far removed, plays here a unique role. It is the first time that Hellenic nation and Hellenic city are treated as contrasts, but the multiplicity of Hellas is not lost, nor its freedom sacrificed.

The hegemony that Philip was to exercise as an individual is

conceived as a permanent leadership and hereditary but was to be exercised in consultations with ambassadors from the Greek cities. Isocrates allowed also for Macedonian interests. The Macedonians, never called barbarians, are coupled with Greeks in contrast to Asiatics. Isocrates found a way of reconciling realities and aspirations all around and of solving the old problem how to unite power and freedom.

There is much to admire and little to criticize in this long and well argued treatise. In note 27 on p. 233 the name of the distinguished historian Pugliese Carratelli may be shortened to Pugliese, not to Carratelli. In several passages, e. g. on pp. 198 and 229, Dobesch makes too much of the word ἑταῖροι, which he transfers from Macedon to Hellas as a parallel phenomenon. In an appendix on *Phil.*, 33, the author fails to convince the reviewer, who connects the passage with the initiation of Heracles into the Mysteries, as mentioned in Xenophon, *Hell.*, VI, 3, 6 and in *I. G.*, II², 3575.

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M. I. FINLEY. A History of Sicily—Ancient Sicily to the Arab Conquest. New York, The Viking Press, 1968. Pp. xv + 226; 12 pls.; 5 maps; 8 figures. $7.50.

Almost eighty years ago E. A. Freeman died of smallpox. Writing until the week of his death, he brought his *History of Sicily*, already a four-volume work, no further than the death of Agathocles. Today there is no time to read, much less to write, four volumes on the subject. In less than 200 well-written pages, M. I. Finley provides the reader with almost everything he ought to know about ancient Sicily.

Finley begins with the paleolithic period and completes the story to 878 A. D., when the Moslems destroyed Syracuse. Although the Sicels, Sicani, and Carthaginians receive some attention, this book inevitably concentrates on Greek and Roman Sicily. The history of medieval and modern Sicily is presented in companion volumes by D. Mack Smith.

After three chapters on early Sicily, Finley reviews the autocratic rule of Gelon, the Dionysii, Timoleon, and Agathocles, examining the reasons why in Sicily "the very idea of the city-state proved a failure" (p. 41). Chapters 10 and 11 ("The First Roman Province" and "The Great Slave Revolts") are detailed and valuable, exhibiting the author's special competence in economic and social history. The last three chapters show how little is known of ancient Sicily after the misrule of Verres. Finley's review of the scanty evidence leaves no doubt that in Imperial times Sicily remained essentially Greek in language and outlook, and so quite naturally found Byzantine Christianity more congenial than Roman.

Finley's information is consistently correct, and omissions are

slight. On p. 13, in discussing the origin of the Sicels, he might have mentioned the Sheklesh, who invaded Egypt during the reign of Merneptah. On p. 129, Livy's Murgentia can be definitely equated with Morgantina (see Kenan Erim, *A. J. A.*, 1958, pp. 85-6). On p. 152, Lilybaeum, which received the *ius coloniae* from Septimius Severus, may be included in the list of Roman colonies in Sicily. In general, intellectual and literary history has been ignored. Nothing is said about Empedocles or the origins of pastoral poetry. May not their Sicilian heritage have been responsible for Timaeus' use of Olympiads, or Diodorus' decision to combine Greek and Roman history in a single work?

Finley shows good sense in his interpretation of the evidence, and the evidence on ancient Sicily is especially precarious. Refusing to join the fashion of turning legend into history, he notes that archaeologists have found no Minoan imports on the island, and so attributes no significance to the stories of Daedalus' and Minos' visits to Kokalos (pp. 11-12). He treats with discriminating skepticism Plato's Sicilian letters, and the entire tradition of Plato's relationship to Dion and the younger Dionysius (pp. 91-3). Occasional interpretations are unconvincing. Dismissing nationalism as a cause for the Greco-Carthaginian wars and (following Gauthier, *R. E. A.*, 1966, pp. 5 ff.) completely rejecting the tradition that Carthage and Persia were in collusion in 480, Finley ridicules "the myth of a barbarian threat to civilization by Carthage" (p. 54) and replaces it with a theory built on the even more dubious tradition that the Etruscans were expelled from Rome in 508. His contention that "were it not for the myth which has been created about him, (Timoleon) would be called a tyrant" (p. 97), is more misleading than Dr. Sordi's contrary conclusion. Finley is more cautious with the archaeological evidence, and could in fact have done more with the full numismatic record of pre-Roman Sicily. Like the grandiose and numerous temples of the sixth and fifth centuries, the silver coinage of that period must attest to the prosperity of Greek Sicily. The silver must have been imported either in the form of coin or bullion. Similarly, the fact that Corinthian coins became common currency after Timoleon's reforms (p. 100) very likely means that Sicily enjoyed a favorable balance of payments in the 330's.

The text is well printed and virtually free of errors. On pp. 221 and 224 Serro Orlando should be corrected to Serra Orlando. The names appearing on the coins should be translated as genitives rather than nominatives (pp. 195-7). The figures and maps are clear and strategically placed. The plates, on the other hand, are scattered, ill-chosen, and of poor quality. The impressive ruins of Temple G at Selinus would have been much more instructive than, for example, the copper coin (Pl. 8 b) so badly worn that one can hardly tell that the obverse is displayed almost upside down. Plate 5, which shows the south *pteron* of the Temple of Athena in Syracuse, suffers by comparison with Plate 152 in Berve, Gruben and Hirmer, *Greek Temples, Theatres and Shrines* (1963), both plates having been reproduced from the same photograph.

In summary, this is an accurate and balanced survey of what is known about the history of ancient Sicily. The ultimate value of the

book is more difficult to assess. An encyclopedic treatment of ancient Sicily would be useful as a reference work; but this book, which has few footnotes and no specific references to the primary evidence, does not serve that purpose. On the other hand, a coherent and meaningful history of ancient Sicily is perhaps impossible, given the facts that ancient Sicily was never a political or cultural unity, that our picture of Greek Sicily is exceptionally spotty, and that for Roman Sicily we have no picture at all, and not much of a frame. The real value of Finley's book is appreciated when we glance at Smith's continuation of the story. The savagery and perversity of medieval Sicily are intelligible after we have seen the *stasis*, the autocratic despotism, and the foreign exploitation which characterized ancient Sicily. In following these threads, Finley has made another worthwhile contribution to an understanding of Western history.

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H. D. BROADHEAD. Tragica: Elucidations of Passages in Greek Tragedy. Christchurch, N. Z., University of Canterbury Press, 1968. Pp. 179. N. Z. $3.60.

The late H. D. Broadhead here discusses textual problems in some 28 plays. Broadhead's merits as a textual critic are an incisive penetration to the heart of the problem, brevity, clarity, and common sense. Seeking always to illuminate the sense of the Greek rather than display his own ingenuity, he often enlightens even where he makes no decisive or fully convincing restoration of the corruption. His emphasis falls on meaning, context, syntax, or usage rather than the *ductus litterarum*; but he is usually at pains to show palaeographical plausibility too. Though he modestly maintains that many of his suggestions are *exempli gratia*, it is clear that he attaches a greater value to some; and, in fact, many of the emendations merit very serious consideration.[1]

Broadhead valiantly attacks a number of celebrated cruces. At A., *Ag.*, 984 ff. he believes, with others, that Aeschylus refers to the throwing out of stern-cables. Yet his ψάμμος ἐσκάφη is inferior to Fraenkel's ψ. ἄμπτα, and the impact of cables does not "dig up" the sand. At *Ag.*, 1395-6 a minor change gives the sense, "If it were fitting to pour such a libation over a corpse, it would be just, nay, more than just, to pour (such a libation) over this man." The play on the double significance of the libation is totally in keeping with

[1] A selective list would include, I think, A., *Ag.*, 352 f., 498 f., 961 f., 1050 ff., 1650 ff.; S., *Antig.*, 685 ff., *O. T.*, 227 f., 566, *Phil.*, 276 f., *Trach.*, 1199; E., *Alc.*, 1071, *Androm.*, 54, 602 ff., 979 ff., *El.*, 567 f., *Hec.*, 396 ff., *Hel.*, 432 ff., *Hcld.*, 528 ff., *H. F.*, 1413 ff., *Hipp.*, 1290 ff., 1334 ff., *Or.* 84.

the perversions of ritual throughout the play and with Clytaemnestra's character, though I am not sure that we can take the lines to be "a qualification of her brazen outspokenness." At A., *Sept.*, 1037 ff. Broadhead argues convincingly that Antigone is speaking not of a symbolic burial, but of wrapping the corpse in a white robe, an interpretation which, incidentally, subtracts a point from those who argue that the end of the *Septem* was influenced by Sophocles' *Antigone*. At E., *Ba.*, 1066 f. Broadhead favors the "lathe hypothesis" and argues (though without conviction) for eliminating the τόξον figure as a separate simile. At E., *Hipp.*, 42 he rejects Barrett's defence of the MS text, emending to θήσω δ' ἐγὼ τὸ πρᾶγμα κἀκφανήσεται.

Broadhead's common-sense, contextual approach, however, occasionally results in a watering down of the dramatic impact or the poetry. Unfortunately the Greek dramatists and their characters are not always so logical as one would prefer. Though the MS text in the following examples presents difficulties, we would be ill-advised to throw it away for rather colorless "improvements": A., *Ag.*, 50, ἐκπατίοις ἄλγεσι (οἰκτροτάτοις ἀ., B.); *Ag.*, 1467 ἀξύστατον ἄλγος (a deliberately mixed metaphor: ἀ. ἕλκος, B.). At S., *O. T.* 1275 f. B.'s "struck with his hands" is too vague for the desired sense of piercing (cf. Housman's excellent περόναις). At E., *Alc.*, 542 there is a special point in the *wailing* which makes the banquet disgraceful which B.'s emendation, παρ' οὐ χαίρουσι, destroys. Also at *Alc.*, 1005 B.'s suspicions of φᾶμαι may be groundless; cf. Pind., *P.*, 1, 96, E., *Hipp.*, 1466.

In a number of places B.'s emendations seem to me to run counter to the import of the dramatic situation. At A., *Ag.*, 274 f. Fraenkel is probably right (*pace* B.) to see a "polemical tone" and even a trace of sharpness or studied vulgarity. Remember that this is Clytaemnestra's first appearance onstage, and the dramatist wants to draw heavily the lines of her strong character. At *Ag.*, 494 f. there is a point to the "smoke" which B. would emend away: the chorus is comparing the fire-signals *unfavorably* to the flesh-and-blood messenger approaching. At *Cho.*, 668 ff. the present text may well be a hint at Clytaemnestra's bad conscience. At *P. V.*, 330 ff. Broadhead too easily dismisses the idea of Prometheus' sarcasm: cf. 299-307, 374. At S., *Antig.*, 1228 ff. he shoots down some unlikely interpretations, but thinks himself that Creon's cry is for Antigone, not Haemon. Yet is it plausible that the man who has condemned her to a slow death pities or is even surprised at her suicide? Broadhead's emendation of E., *Hipp.*, 503 ff. removes the important point that Phaedra is on the verge of surrender to the nurse's arguments and thus fears her eloquence (cf. 498-9 and 514 ff.); hence the second person, "If you speak things shameful well . . . ," should be retained. In the much disputed passage, *Med.*, 1060-6, Broadhead would transpose 1064-6 after 1020. But this step destroys the important connection between the killing of the children and the death of Creusa: see 772-97 and G. A. Seeck, *G. R. B. S.*, IX (1968), p. 295. In both S., *El.*, 922 and E., *El.*, 251 the heroine's language is more emotional and less logical than Broadhead allows. In the latter passage the first person reflects Electra's self-pity.

A short review cannot, of course, give an adequate idea of the keen insight and thoroughly mastered scholarship which Broadhead displays in the many passages he discusses. Many of his emendations will immediately recommend themselves by their neatness, economy, and good sense. The criticisms here offered are not meant to overshadow the great value of his elucidations and restorations. But an ancient tragedy is also a poem and a drama of human emotions. Sophocles' *'περὶ φορβῆς νόστον* (*Phil.*, 43) may make us linguistically uneasy, but so does many a phrase in Shakespeare. Bentley's Milton should be a sufficient example of the dangers of regularizing a poet's language. Common sense and syntactical and linguistic normalcy are the interpreter's indispensable tools. But they cannot always be the only criteria of interpretation or of emendation.

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ANDRÉ SCHNEIDER. Le premier livre ad Nationes de Tertullien. Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire. Institut Suisse de Rome, 1968. Pp. 332. (*Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*, IX.)

This volume is a welcome addition to the many fine studies of Tertullian which continue to flow from European scholars. Though the text is not really new (being essentially that of Borleffs in the *Corpus Christianorum*), the author has given us a clear and accurate translation together with almost two hundred pages of notes that will interest classical and patristic scholars alike.

In a lengthy introduction Schneider deals with such matters as the date, the style, and the sources of the *Ad Nationes* as well as its relation to other works. Here the editor's comments are sensible and sensitive if at times a bit prolix (e. g. five pages on the title of the work). Particularly interesting is his theory that Tertullian's decision to compose the *Apologeticum* as a companion piece to the *Ad Nationes* came as early as chapter 15 of Book I, or perhaps even at the beginning of chapter 10. Schneider has argued convincingly for the traditional view that specific passages in Book I (3, 4; 7, 29; 10, 1; 15, 2 and 6) alluding to a later work could or do refer to the *Apologeticum* rather than to an unfinished portion of the *Ad Nationes* as Becker suggested. In the mind of this reviewer Schneider is also correct in supporting the view that the opening part of Tertullian's work is missing from the text as we have it.

Schneider's handling of textual problems reflects diligence, imagination, and a sensitivity to Tertullian's style. All told there are some thirty suggested emendations. These do not often affect the sense of the text in a radical way, but for the most part they are improvements and are supported by sound arguments. Despite the author's careful work, however, one is perhaps still justified in preferring *patriae* to *pari* in 3, 10, since the former is a simpler emendation of the MS reading and provides a nice parallel to *homini* which pre-

cedes it. Hartel's *intenta lingua* in 19, 3 would seem to require less contorsion of the sense than is demanded of Schneider's *inser⟨ta l⟩ingua*. For *per⟨versa⟩* in 16, 12 this writer would suggest another reading which is closer to the MS and more in keeping with the context of the passage as well as with the style of Tertullian. Might not the phrase in question read *quotcumque publicatae libidinis por⟨ca⟩st⟨ra⟩*. The word *porcastrum* (purslane) seems to be a derivative of *porcus* (in the sense of *pudendum muliebre*) by reason of certain medicinal properties attributed to it (Ernout-Meillet, pp. 522-3). Pliny (*N. H.*, XX, 213-14) states that the Greek physician Metrodorus thought that the herb should be given as an aid to the post-delivery expulsion of the afterbirth. If Tertullian is using the word in some such sense, he would be referring in the above passage to "instances of the use of purslane as a consequence of public vice." *Porcastra* dovetails nicely with the MS where Borleffs has detected an *r incertum* following the *o*. It also provides the vivid neuter plural form parallel to *adulteria* and *stupra* that Schneider calls for. It fits the context well since the passage has to do not only with sexual excesses but more specifically with the children that are born from sinful unions.

The commentary for each chapter is divided into two sections. In the first Schneider discusses in more general terms the purpose of the chapter, its sources and commonplaces, as well as its relationship to the *Apologeticum* and to the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix. The second section is a line by line analysis of the text containing a great deal of pertinent philological information (Schneider must have checked every significant word against the *T. L. L.*), as well as much historical and literary evidence. In general this format is helpful since it enables the reader to follow the development of Tertullian's thought and to see the chapter in relation to larger units. The disadvantage is that the commentary is at times unnecessarily repetitious and wordy.

Schneider's command of bibliographical materials is impressive but not ostentatious. On the much debated issue of the *institutum Neronianum* one might have expected some reference to W. H. C. Frend's *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1965), and perhaps also to G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?" *Past and Present*, XXVI (1963), pp. 6-38. Since the appearance of Schneider's work the whole legal question has been considerably clarified in T. D. Barnes' recent examination of the ancient texts (*J. R. S.*, LVIII [1968], pp. 32-50). With regard to the Jewish role in the persecution of Christians the commonplace views found in Christian sources (cited on p. 263) should be weighed against the arguments of modern scholars, including those of M. Simon (*Verus Israel*, 2nd ed. [Paris, 1964], especially pp. 144-54). These suggestions, however, are but small criticisms of a careful and scholarly work that is very helpful in understanding a writer whom Norden has called the most difficult of all Latin authors.

The volume includes an *index rerum et verborum* as well as an *index locorum*.

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2. Title of publication: American Journal of Philology
3. Frequency of issue: quarterly
4. Location of known office of publication: Gilman Hall 116, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218
5. Location of the Headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland 21218
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor

   Publisher: The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland 21218

   Editor: Dr. Henry T. Rowell, Gilman Hall 116, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 21218

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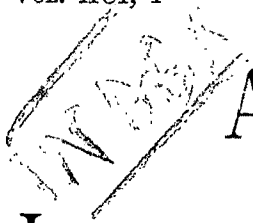
The contents of the American Journal of Philology are indexed regularly in the International Index to Periodicals and in Book Review Index.

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BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

VOL. XCI, 1 WHOLE NO. 361



AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY



Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

Edited by
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MARSH H. McCALL, JR.
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JANUARY, 1970

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BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

VOL. XCI, 2 WHOLE NO. 362

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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Edited by
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APRIL, 1970

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VOL. XCI, 4 WHOLE NO. 364

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Honorary Editors
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OCTOBER, 1970

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